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THE

LIFE, ADVENTURES,

AND

OPINIONS

OF

COL. GEORGE HANGER.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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To which is added,

Advice to the Prelates and Legislators, how to correct the Immorality and Jacobinism of the present Age, and at the same time increase the Revenue.

Advice to the Lovely Cyprians, and to the Fair Sex in general, how to pass their Lives in future to their better Satisfaction, and to enjoy with Discretion the three Cardinal Virtues.

On Matrimony, Compulsive Wedlock, and on Polygamy.

On the Misery of Female Prostitution.

The History of the Lovely Ægyptia, the Pamela of Norwood, and Paragon of the Ægyptian Race; the Author's Marriage with her, and her cruel Infidelity and Elopement with a Travelling Tinker:

And a History of the King's Bench Prison, written by the Author during his Custody under the Marshal of that Prison, descriptive of the Miseries endured by the Prisoners, and the extravagant Expence incident to their Confinement.

Insanire parat, certa ratione modoque——
Nudus agris, nudus nummis. HORAT.

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On my return to England I immediately joined my regiment, the first regiment of guards, in which I was an ensign. I may, with truth, say, that I knew my duty better than nine ensigns in ten, at their debut on the parade at Whitehall; for I not only was acquainted with the common parade-duty, but absolutely

knew the manœuvre of a battalion; for I had made my profession my study, and was devoutly attached to a military life.

I was almost instantly launched into the great world, and introduced into the most distinguished companies in this country. When first I trod the paths of pleasure in this gay town, my country was arrived at the very height of national grandeur, and was not as yet on the decline. She was powerful, and respected all over the world; both her fleets and armies were victorious wherever they went; the country was rich, from many years' peace, after a glorious seven years' war. It was then that Great Britain, in the hour of her insolence *, drew the jea-

* Vide Governor Johnson's speech on the American war.

lousy and vengeance of the European powers. There was abundance in every part: the necessaries of life were at a moderate price; the people were happy, joyful, and contented: the middle man then lived well; the nobility and gentlemen were in general in a state of opulence; and there was scarcely such a thing to be seen in the land as a poor gentleman. England then basked in the sunshine, from the vigorous and successful measures of the great Mr. Pitt, who wielded the democracy of England in one hand, and smote the House of Bourbon with the other. He guided the affairs of this country in war with manly vigour, and in negociation with sincerity, ever scorning those political refinements of which others vainly boast: sincerity he ever took for his guide, and his country's honour for his glory: his fame did not

consist in triumphing, in a speech of four hours, over a fallen foe, in the senate, but in victory over a foreign enemy: he was dreaded abroad, and loved at home. The magnificence, elegance, splendour, and extravagance of the times cannot be described. To frequent the polite circles in those days, a young man must have been polite, well bred, well educated, and well dressed: they seldom came into the world till one-and-twenty, and not till they had travelled, or been in some foreign country, for a couple of years at least. It is of the greatest utility for a young man to be absent in a foreign country for a considerable time. Abroad, he must behave well, and be polite in company, or he will have half-a-dozen swords through his body in a week, which will soon teach him good breeding, better than any thing else I am ac-

quainted with. In these days, young men are thrown into the world between fourteen and fifteen years of age, from Eton or Westminster school, with their mind and manners equally unformed. A young man may now come in to a lady's assembly or ball-room, head or tail foremost, in a trot, a walk, or a canter—it is all the same; and if he behave ever so rude, it is only looked upon as a levity of youth. If a gentleman in these days has but a few guineas in his purse, and will walk directly up to the Faro-table, he will be the most welcome guest in the house: it is not necessary for him to speak, or even bow, to a single lady in the room, unless some unfortunate woman at the gaming-table ask him politely for the loan of a few guineas: then his answer need be but short—"No, Dolly, no; can't;" for this ever will be received

as wit, though the unfortunate lady's bosom may be heaving, not from the tenderer passions, but with grief and despair at having lost the last farthing.

When I first came into the world there was no such thing as a Faro-table admited into the house of a woman of fashion: in those days they had too much pride to receive tribute * from the proprietor of such a machine. In former times there was no such thing in all London as gaming at a private house, although there was more deep play at the clubs at that time than ever was before or has been since. It is lamentable to see lovely woman destroying her health and beauty at six o'clock in the morning at a gaming-table. Can

* In some houses, in this age, the lady of the house is paid fifty guineas each night by the proprietor of the Faro-table.

any woman expect to give to her husband a vigorous and healthy offspring, whose mind, night after night, is thus distracted, and whose body is relaxed by anxiety and the fatigue of late hours? It is impossible. Besides, there is a greater evil attendant on such practices. Gaming and liquor have debauched more women than all the solicitations of the whole race of man. To appear in company, it was necessary to be full-dressed: no person wore a frock in the evening; a dress-coat, bag, and sword was constantly worn even at the playhouse; and no gentleman ever attempted to go into the side-boxes in boots. There were no impertinent box-lobby loungers in those days, to insult women as they pass, and disturb the performance. Every man then, though not full-dressed, but only

in a plain frock, wore a sword. I have seen one or two impertinent fellows drawn upon immediately, and stuck up against the box-door. Now, every barber dresses as well as a gentleman: and cards of address, every night almost, are reciprocally exchanged at the playhouse between the apprentices of a muslin-seller and a man-milliner, who all wear cockades, and pass for officers.—As for myself, I was extremely extravagant in my dress. For one winter's dress-clothes only, it cost me nine hundred pounds. This extravagance is likely to astonish the reader: but what, in my opinion, should strike him with more wonder, is, that I absolutely paid the tailor: this expence was only for dress-suits. I employed other tailors to furnish servants' clothes, and morning and hunting frocks, &c. for myself.

I was always handsomely dressed at every birth-day: but for one in particular I put myself to a very great expence, having two suits for that day. My morning vestments cost me near eighty pounds, and those for the ball above one hundred and eighty. It was a satin coat *brodé en plain et sur les coutures*; and the first satin coat that had ever made its appearance in this country. Shortly after, satin-dress clothes became common amongst well-dressed men. Great officers of state are in honour compelled to appear in a handsome suit of clothes at the birth-day of their king: it is but a small part of that gratitude and duty they owe to their sovereign, for the dignified situations he has given them, to attend on his person. I had no office of emolument, advantage, or trust about his Majesty's person, excepting an ensigncy in the first

regiment of foot-guards, the emoluments of which did not then amount to four shillings per day; which daily pay would not have paid my tailor his charges of one single button and button-hole to my gala suit *. I was of opinion that I could not pay my sovereign greater respect than by appearing elegantly and expensively dressed at the birth-day; and I trust his Majesty thought well of it. As silence gives consent, I am entitled to put a favourable construction on it; for, from the very moment I came into the guards as ensign, to the day I went to the American war, and to this hour, after having served my king and country faithfully for seven

* Did I say a button and button-hole? The very stitching of a button-hole in those days cost me more: and the embroidered gold-clocks to my stockings, with which I never failed to appear at a ball or gala-day, cost me a much larger sum.

long years, I never have been honoured with one word from his Majesty's lips.

I never was fond of cards or dice, nor ever played for any considerable sum of money; at least, no further than the fashion of the times compelled me. I claim, however, no merit whatever for abstaining from play, as it afforded me no pleasure: if it had, I certainly should have gratified that passion, as I have done some others. But the turf I was passionately fond of, and indulged that pleasure to a very great extent. I once stood three thousand guineas on one race, Shark against Leviathan, and won it: my confederate, Mr. Robert Pigott, stood five thousand on the event. I was a considerable gainer by the turf, notwithstanding the enormous expence of keeping running-horses in those days; as every

horse in training, at Newmarket, cost the owner between eighty and ninety pounds a-year, if not moved from that place; but if he travelled the country, it was computed, to clear himself, he must win three fifty-pound plates during the summer. To use the idea, but not the precise words, of Macheath, I can, with truth, say, the turf has done me justice: but the extravagance of the times, the delightful pleasures of that age, and the frailty of my own nature, were my ruin. I must have been more than man, or, more properly speaking, less than man, not to have indulged in the pleasures of the gay world, which I could not partake of without being at a very considerable expence; by far more than my income could afford. As my estate, together with a house furnished, which, with some acres of land, I let to the best of

tenants, Mrs. Crewe, the grandmother to my worthy friend Colonel Crewe, the young man, I mean, who was wounded in the expedition to the Helder, for two hundred a-year; did not exceed eleven hundred pounds. This was all I was possessed of, excepting about three thousand pounds in cash as a younger child's fortune.

Speaking of Captain Macheath, it reminds me of a story which has been told in various shapes, respecting an interview I once had in Newgate, with a very honourable and brave fellow, Hawkes, the flying highwayman. Honourable and brave did I say?—Yes; I repeat it; nay more, he was humane and charitable: and the following circumstances will, in the mind of every liberal individual, prove him to have been so. He had a famous mare, which he had oftentimes

rode very long distances in a short space of time. I had oftentimes seen him at Newmarket, where he attended the races as a bettor. In those days I was so fond of riding my own hacknies on the road in a journey, that whenever I went any distance, I used to send my servant in my chaise with my clothes, and relay my own hacknies. I had four or five of the speediest and safest that I believe the country could produce. Accordingly, when Hawkes was committed to Newgate, I thought his mare would have been a great acquisition. Returning from Newmarket to London, after a very wet and dirty ride, very much in dishabille, being in dirty boots, surtout coat and round hat, which no gentleman in those days wore in London even in boots: In short, just as I was when I dismounted from my horse, I went to Newgate, and desired to see Mr. Hawkes,

but without telling the turnkey who I was. The turnkey called him out to the tap-room, and I heard him tell him that an acquaintance wanted to speak to him. After calling for a bottle of wine and condoling with him on his situation, I entered on my business with him, telling him I knew he had a famous mare, and that I wished much to buy her. "The mare," says he, "is a good mare still, though she has done a good deal of work; and, moreover, is as fast a one as I ever crossed." "Pray, Mr. Hawkes, what is the greatest distance, in point of expedition, you ever rode her?" "Why, Sir, the longest ground, in a short time, that she ever carried me, was one evening, when, after *doing a little business* near Salt Hill, I rode her within the hour to London." "She must be very speedy, indeed," I replied; and no more was said

about the mare's performances. I then made him a present of two or three guineas, and told him, that as the mare was to be sold for the benefit of the captors, I hoped he would not deceive me, but tell me frankly whether he would recommend me to buy her or not. "Sir," answered he, "it is not likely that a man so near his latter end as I am, (for there is hardly any chance of my escaping,) should deceive any one; therefore, Sir, pray tell me, for what purpose do you want her? I replied, For *the road*, and *only* for the road. "Then, Sir, I will fairly tell you that I recommend you not to purchase her, for I do not think she will suit you; as *it was with the greatest difficulty I could ever get her up to a carriage.*

This brave and charitable fellow one day riding near Uxbridge, well dressed

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tiguous to the screen, about eight feet deep, where the first class of the *Humane Society* of surgeons might attend. All those who are wounded might be permitted to roll into it; for it would not be fair to fire at them when they are down.

I must confess that I am a great advocate for the new pivot manœuvre, of wheeling backwards, from the facility of its being performed with such safety in all broken grounds, and especially in roads where the waggon ruts are deep, and in felled woods, where the stumps of trees are left standing, or where the roots of trees have been grubbed, and the holes not filled up.

Although the soldier performs this retrograde manœuvre with perfect ease and safety, and without ever tumbling down,

yet I am of opinion, if he were taught to dance, particularly all stage steps, it would be of great benefit to him; for nothing forms the limbs, or instructs a man to walk gracefully so well as dancing: besides, nothing is more effectual to teach a man to keep his mouth shut, and his ears and eyes open, which is so essential to perfect discipline and good order. I think the soldier might be taught to keep the step with greater precision in wheeling backward, if a sharp pointed iron peg, about one inch and a half long, was fixed in the heel of every soldier's shoe; then if any man should forget to step backwards with the proper leg, his comrade before him would be sure to pin his foot to the ground, which would enable the adjutant to find out the soldier who was to blame, that he might be sent to the drill to be perfected. At

present it is very difficult to observe what soldier is guilty of the irregularity; for although they often tread on one another's toes, and break their comrades shins, they bear the pain, however excruciating, with silence and wry faces.

"Eyes right," and "Eyes left," are fascinating and elegant words of command: the old fashioned expression, "By the right dress," "By the left dress," was vulgar and incomprehensible; besides, it has a charming effect on the soldier, for it not only teaches him regularity in his duty, but gives him an agreeable facility of squinting, which, when off duty, he can turn to his advantage, by being able with greater ease and grace to ogle the ladies.

I have hitherto endeavoured, as far as

it has been in my power, to connect my ideas, and arrange my advice for your future happiness, pleasure, and advantage, in order and method; but as affairs of consequence to myself will shortly engage my attention, and deprive me from giving up any more of that time, which, hitherto, I have with so much satisfaction devoted to your interest, and to the correction of the immorality and Jacobinism of the present age, I am compelled to give my further instructions to you, in an unconnected and irregular way, just as the ideas arise in my mind.

First of all, I entreat you, who may perchance have children, never to permit them to be christened at home in a punch bowl, or in one of Mr. Wedgwood's earthen utensils; though I know it to be fashionable amongst the great. Go you to

church with them; it is by far more decorous: as for myself, if I had twenty children, not one of them should be christened but in a river, as it was done of old.

I must confess, I am a great admirer of short waists and thin clothing: formerly, when the women wore strong stiff stays and cork rumps, you might as well sit with your arm round an oaken tree with the bark on, as round a lady's waist; but now, as you have seldom any more covering than your shift and gown of a cold day, your waist is extremely warm and comfortable to the feel. Besides, it is salutary to go thin clad, to let in the *ambient heat*. The loose attire of your petticoats and gown is not only graceful, but very convenient; it being equally appropriated to the utility of women of fashion, and women of no

fashion; it being admirably constructed either for a young lady to conceal a big belly, or for a shop-lifter to hide a bale of goods. I will do you the justice to say, that in summer you go thin enough clad, as very few of you wear more than a shift, a thin linen petticoat, and a muslin gown: but in winter, the cold compels you to hide your shapes more than I can wish for your sakes, as I am desirous that your beauties should ever be displayed as far as decency will admit; therefore, instead of wearing a dickey*, which most of you very prudently do in winter, though it totally destroys the symmetry of your shape, I recommend you, in lieu of it, to wear a very thin oiled-silk petticoat of a sky-blue or flesh colour: this is the

* A dickey is a short flannel petticoat, reaching down below the knee.

warmest attire you can put on, as no air whatever can penetrate it; and then it is so thin, that not a dimple or muscle can escape the eye. Some few of you who are most perfectly formed, may wear breeches, made to fit you to the greatest nicety, of flesh-colour oiled silk, and over which nothing but a thin muslin petticoat and gown, the transparency of which will shew your shapes to the greatest advantage, and then you will not be in danger of catching cold. I really am of opinion, that many of you have been guilty of an error, in leaving off false pads, especially all those who are deficient in respect to that without which no woman can claim any tolerable degree of perfection. They were useful and convenient in other respects; for, on a Sunday, you might carry your prayer-book in them

on one side, and one volume of my works on the other, to prevent your falling asleep in church-time, if the sermon should be very dull and long. A further benefit many of you who are ill-bred might derive from them; for, if you behaved so ill as to be kicked out of company, the *seat* of *honour* could receive no damage.

Elastic false bosoms are much in fashion; but they never as yet have been turned to proper advantage. An ingenious artist might so construct them, that you might conceal your love-letters in them; for your mothers are all acquainted with the old stale trick of tucking them under your garters, or in your shoe, and may search there for them. If they were made of a competent size, you might carry

your favourite squirrel in one of them, which would be a guard to you against immodest intruders.

Upon mature deliberation, I think the wigs now so much in fashion are the safest places to carry your *billet doux*; for, let your mother suspect you ever so much, she cannot be so rude as to pull your wig off in company, or even to discompose your *coiffeure*.

Fashionable and elegant expressions, when in public company, ye lovely Cyprians, are not only agreeable, but denote a good education, and shew that you have kept good company. Be mindful of the following, which you may apply as the conversation will admit you to bring them forward. "Patch," "What a bore," "That's the barber," "Go it,"

"The tippy and the twaddle," "What a swell," "Keep moving," "All my eye, Betty Martin," "Go along bob;" and above all things, never forget when asked any question which you do not choose to answer, to sell them a bargain.

Ye lovely Cyprians, Father Foigard, (with whom I agree,) says, "Receiving money before-hand is a bribe; but if afterwards taken, it is only a gratification." Be, I pray you, mindful of his instructions.

There are many patents for the cure of smoky chimnies, I mean of houses, which are infallible; but it has hitherto puzzled the ingenuity of man to cure a natural smoky chimney. Cardamum comfits, mellifluous and odoriferous draughts, may for a few hours conceal the defect, but

it can never be for any time effectually prevented, but by cutting off the head, which, though rather a novel and dangerous operation, except performed by a very skilful artist, may be performed, and you may enjoy every faculty of nature except seeing, hearing, speaking, and smelling; for the particulars of which I refer you to a book written by an ingenious acquaintance of mine*.

Nothing sets a woman off so much, or makes her appear more graceful, than an elegant and dignified manner of walking: to plant the foot well, and turn your toes out, is the first of all accomplishments. Æneas knew his mother by the dignity of her walk, before she spoke to him; *vera incessu patuit dea*. For

* Doctor Kentish's Treatise on the Use of the Guillotine.

the divine majesty of woman is displayed in her very step. Nothing is more disgusting than to see a woman, let her be ever so handsome, hurrying on with her toes turned in, like a duck walking down a gutter in a thunder storm. You that are not naturally endowed with this happy accomplishment, should take a dancing master to teach you to walk gracefully; though I think a drill sergeant is more capable of setting you well on your haunches. Besides, if you are militarily inclined, which is the rage amongst the ladies of the present day, he can instruct you in many useful evolutions; can teach you the Indian way of fighting; how the covered way may be attacked and defended, how to batter a breach, or storm a fortress, to draw the sword with skill, and to fire in all attitudes, without winking or blinking.

To please you, ye lovely Cyprians, I have purposely avoided the regular form of Latin grammar and syntax, which must have been extremely disgusting to you. All mood and figure work abounding with well-turned periods and priscan purities, resemble too much a Mosaic pavement and Dutch garden, all cut out in squares, and divided geometrically; the regularity of which is offensive to the eye.

The reader will distinguish as great capability in my writings, as the celebrated Mr. Brown expressed on viewing wild, irregular featured land, which was to be laid out in pleasure gardens*. Besides, too

* Mr. Brown, eminently distinguished for laying out and improving pleasure ground, when he found he could beautify a park or pleasure garden, said, "There was great capability in the ground." From which expression he acquired the nick-name of *Capability* Brown.

much attention to grammar would have so cramped my pen, I could not have written with any degree of pleasure or satisfaction. I freely confess, that it is as painful a task for me to write and speak grammatically, as it would be to study walking by the rules of equilibrium. I have often, ye lovely Cyprians, thought what infinite service and pleasure man would derive from being able to fly. As there are flying stage coaches, flying broad wheel waggons, flying artillery, and flying dillies, I am astonished that human ingenuity has not found out the art to enable man to fly, who is by so many hundred degrees lighter than the *above* machines, which all fly. I have often lamented that I was not born with wings. What service I could have rendered my country! No admiral or general could have served without my assist-

ance; and when the rivers are frozen, I could carry dispatches to and from the continent. But the greatest of all satisfactions and pleasures would be flying in at your windows, ye lovely Fair, in a dark night, unobserved. On mature reflection, I am inclined to think that very few of you, however, would be benefited by my flying abilities; as from real charity and compassion I certainly should be induced to spend my time abroad, among the beautiful nuns in the convents, and the lovely fair Circassians locked up in the Eastern seraglios. Our women have opportunities enough of meeting their lovers, as you well know, while those unfortunate women have no one to sympathize in their distresses. Then, what a gallant and charitable exploit it would be, to fly away with one of the grand Turk's beautiful Circassian mistresses, carry her

home to her friends, pass a few days with her; return and carry off another, and another, until the whole seraglio was cleared. This might be done by exercising precaution in my expeditions, and taking the advantage of a very dark night. The Mufti, when consulted by the enraged Sultaun, would for certain declare, that Mahomet had taken them into the third Heaven, and the father of the faithful would be satisfied.

Ye lovely Cyprians, I have ever submitted with the most perfect obedience to the laws of arrest in every shape, for two cogent reasons: first, for the sake of society, and also not without some degree of dread of entering into a correspondence with Thomas Tullis, Esq. * for it would

* The hangman, vulgarly called *Jack Ketch*.

not be very agreeable to be troubled even with one single *line* from that gentleman; conscious that the wise, just, and pious legislators of our country could never suffer any law to exist, which they could not perfectly reconcile to their consciences, and which, when properly considered, was in the smallest degree oppressive. But, secondly, religious motives have induced me more implicitly to yield to law processes and expences for debt, as I find that the two great processes by which mankind is either stripped to his last coat and shirt, and every thing but what he has on his body, or is cast into prison, are both sanctioned by Scripture: for in reading St. Matthew, chap. v. verse the fortieth, you will find it written, "And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." This un-

deniably is an absolute sanction *for all actions at fieri facias,* which attach all goods and wearing apparel. Again, in Matthew, chap. v, verses 25th and 26th, we read, "Agree with thine adversary (adversary certainly means an attorney) quickly whilst thou art in the way with him, lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison." Here again we find a positive sanction for all *cases which take the body in execution.* By the above texts from Scripture, you will plainly observe, that the law in these days acts as progressively, step by step, as in the days of St. Matthew; for the lawyer (your adversary) first sends a bailiff to take you; he locks you up in a spunging-house; from thence you are committed to Newgate, which you may avoid, if you

can afford it, by being removed by Habeas Corpus to the King's Bench. In the first case, (*fieri facias*,) I have been more than obedient to the letter of the Scriptural law; for, when the bailiffs came for my coat and cloak to my house, they also had my stockings, shoes, shirts, and breeches; to which I submitted with all humility; although it would have been very distressing to me, and a wonderful loss; for those very clothes would have been sold at public auction for a trifle when compared with their real value to me, as it would have cost me at least one hundred and fifty pounds to replace them, for a debt of forty-eight pounds; had they not perchance been given by the sheriff's officer to my friend Mr. Graham the auctioner, who generously paid the money for me, and preserved my clothes; for pay the debt I absolutely could not at that time,

nor could I liquidate it for many months with my generous friend Graham. Here both the lawyer and Mr. Graham verified the Scriptures: but the world I trust will give the greater credit to the latter; for the lawyer, when I was helpless, *took me in*; but Mr. Graham, *when I was naked, clothed me.* I cannot help, but with a considerable degree of satisfaction and pleasure, remarking the very moderate costs on this action of forty-eight pounds, they not amounting to much above one-half of the original debt, which I think I may say, and I am certain was a bill given by me for twenty-six or thirty pounds, not exceeding that sum; for, in many suits that have been brought against me, I have often *paid costs, amounting to within a trifle of the absolute original debt*; of which I have given the reader some authentic speci-

mens, where I have paid nearly *one hundred per cent. costs* of suit to the lawyer, and hardly ever less than *fifty per cent.*

What advantage is it to you, ye lovely Cyprians, if a man possesses the most transcendent abilities, and will not afford you his counsel and friendship? Mine are of a very inferior degree; but such as they are, I have given them to you spontaneously: nor have I made any conditions with you; yet, I must confess that it is not my intent to give you this advice gratis, nor have I pleaded your cause without a retaining fee: for I have long had the satisfaction of being the chamber counsel of many of you.

Let others plough the main in quest of

gold, and ransack India's burning soil in search of gems; or brave the winged messenger of death, to grasp that phantom, Honour, in the tented field. My bark shall spread her swelling sails, and bear me to that happy isle, where reigns in loveliness attired the Paphian queen; then will I bend the knee and sacrifice with her sportive nymphs on Cytherea's altar, and pay due homage to the Queen of Love; for, to lovely woman, and nought but her on earth, will I pay homage.

Attentive as I have been to your interests in this world, yet I should be deficient in true regard to you, if I were to study only your temporal welfare and happiness. Life is but a span long; but I have employed every ability I am master of, to render your short passage through a world fraught with misery, as com-

fortable as the nature of things will admit.

Now, it is my serious and solemn advice, for the sake of your immortal part, to let your leisure hours be devoted to the Tabernacle, where, with due attention to the salutary admonitions of the disciples of the pious Doctor Squintum, you may speedily be regenerated, be received as babes of grace, and admitted to those feasts of pure seraphic love, where none but the truly penitent are admitted; and you may then defy the cloven-footed gentleman and all his works. It is not my practice to calumniate any one; but you know it to be true that he is a very scurvy, rascally acquaintance, who, if you continue any connection with him, will not leave you a rag—no, not a single rag to your backs.

For the more speedy accomplishing your regeneration, you should pay attention also to the private lectures of the foot soldier in the guards, Swaddling John, and Captain Joyce, formerly a boatswain's mate on board a man of war; but, above all, I wish to draw your attention to the Work of the pious Doctor Huntington, intitled *Huntingdon's Bank of Faith.*

This pious divine was formerly a coal-heaver, afterwards a cobler, then a gardener. The inferior situatious in life that he occupied can be no disparagement to him in your minds, for poverty and obscurity were his only faults; yet, in the most painful distress, he never deserted the service in which he was engaged. Let me entreat you to attend to this pious man's Work, *his Bank of Faith*; walk

in the paths he has trodden, and have but the same faith which he tells you he ever had in the worst of times, and you will be sure to succeed and prosper. It will not be possible, then, you shall ever want either food, raiment, or any other necessary, to make this transitory life comfortable.

You will observe, in perusing the extracts which I shall select from this pious Christian's works, how his faith was rewarded; for, although he never provided for his own sustenance or clothing, or that of his family or wife, and let the morrow ever provide for itself, the Power whom he served never failed to send him every requisite necessary for his support. When he was absolutely starving, he was suddenly furnished with partridges, rabbits, and money. When tired, he unexpectedly received a horse to ride on, and

at the same time a tailor appeared to measure him for a pair of leathern breeches to defend his posteriors from excoriation on horseback, when, in his zealous exertions to preach the word of God, he had worn out his worsted small clothes, and exposed his shameful parts, (to use an expression of Mr. Burke,) to the ridicule of the unholy multitude.

His pious wife also, when she wanted a dish of tea, and had no money to purchase it, had but to order the maid to boil the kettle, and, before the water was thoroughly warm, some ministering angel sent her tea: all this she acquired by having faith. Be mindful, ye amiable Cyprians, that without faith you can have no hopes, and with perfect faith every thing may be obtained, as this pious Mr. Huntingdon has gravely and gratefully informed us.

If you but possess the same inward feeling, you need not despair of receiving, from the same beneficent hands, beef, mutton, tea, petticoats, and gin, which you, of course, prefer to such a washy vaporous beverage as tea.

I shall now request your attention to the following extracts from this pious Christian's Works: I wish to imprint them on your minds, that you may know what benefits may be derived on earth from true faith. The truth and assertions of this pious man, this spiritual shepherd, who gathereth together the sheep who have wandered away from the sheepfold, and fed on the wormwood and rue of vice and ungodliness, instead of the clover and cinque-foil of holiness, cannot be doubted. I command you, therefore, ye lovely Cyprians—I command

you, by the sincere interest I take in your welfare, that you will not only study this pious man's Works, his Bank of Faith, but have faith—aye, and faith in him, and in every thing he relates; for without it you cannot expect to be regenerated or saved.

Extracts from Huntington's Bank of Faith.

" As the life of faith consists in bearing the cross of Christ, we must not expect to be long without trials.—Providence soon frowned on me again, and I got behind-hand as usual. This happened, too, at a time when my wife was lying-in, destitute of those necessaries of life which are needful at such times.—The nurse came and told her there was no tea in the house.—My wife replied, ' Set the kettle on, if there is not.'—The nurse (whose name was Ann Webb, a daughter of mine in the faith, and the first soul

that God called by me) said, 'You have no tea, nor can you get any.'—My wife replied, 'Set on the kettle.'—She did so; and, before it boiled, a woman (with whom at that time we had no acquaintance) came to the door, and told the nurse that she had brought some tea as a present for my wife. Thus God, who shewed Moses a stick to sweeten the waters of Marah, sent a little tea to bitter the water in my dame's kettle. Soon after my dame got over her lying in, tidings were brought to us that a gospel minister was coming down to Kingston to preach an evening lecture, and to break bread to the congregation. I had a great desire to go to the table, and also to have my child baptised at the same time: but, as I never could go from the Lord's table without offering my mite, and at this time had no money in my pocket, I did not go. However, I begged of God to send me a little money, some way or other, for this purpose; which I verily believed he would. So I waited till within half an hour of the time to go, and

then began to think I should be disappointed: but, just as unbelief set me to murmuring and complaining, I heard a man ride up to my door as I was in my study at the back part of the house; and, when he rode away again, I called to my wife to get ready to go. 'Get ready!' said she, 'why you know we have no money!'—'Poh! poh!' said I, 'God has sent the money!'—And true enough it was that God had sent it; for all the business the man had with us was to give us some money! Surely it was God that sent him, and none else; for, if the hairs of our head are all numbered, we have reason to believe that our wants are; and if God keeps our hairs from falling to the ground, he certainly supplies our wants too. Thus the good God and Saviour, who made a fish produce money for an earthly tribute, sent the man with three shillings as an offering to God, and of his own we offered to him." P. 73—75.

"My year being now expired, I wanted

a new parsonic livery; wherefore, in humble prayer, I told my most blessed Lord and Master that my year was out, and my apparel bad—that I had no where to go for these things but to him; and, as he had promised to give his servants food and raiment, I hoped he would fulfil his promise to me, though one of the worst of them. Seeing no immediate signs of my livery coming, I began to omit praying for it; though God says, 'For all these things I will be inquired of by the house of Israel, that I may do these things for them.' It fell out one day that I called on a poor man, who complained that he could not attend the word of God for want of apparel. This drove me to pray again for my new suit of clothes, that I might give my old ones to him. A few days after this I was desired to call at a gentleman's house near London. Indeed it had been impressed on my mind for six weeks before, that God would use that gentleman as an instrument to furnish me with my next suit. And so it fell out; for, when I called

on him, upon leaving his house he went a little way with me; and, while we were on the road, he said, 'I think you want a new suit of clothes.' I answered, 'Yes, Sir, I do; and I know a poor man that would be very glad of this which I have on, if my Master would furnish me with another.' When we parted, he desired me to call on him the next morning, which I accordingly did, when he sent a tailor into the room, and generously told me to be measured for what clothes I chose, and a great coat also. When I got the *new*, I furnished the poor man with my *old* suit. This was the fourth suit of apparel that my Master gave me in this providential manner, in answer to the prayer of faith. Thus God, who kept Israel's clothes from waxing old, though in constant use for forty years, gave me a new suit every year." P. 79, 80.

"I now preached at London, at Richmond, at Cobham, at Wooking, at Worplesdon, and at Farnham in Surrey. This I

found too much for my strength. However, I continued for a considerable time, till at last I was generally laid up sick about once a month. I found I had great need of a horse; but feared I should not be able to keep it, if I had one. However, it happened that I had a very severe week's work to do; I was to go to Wooking and preach on the Lord's day morning, to Worplesdon in the afternoon, and from thence to Farnham in the evening; to preach at Petworth in Sussex on the Monday, at Horsham on the Tuesday, at Margaret-street chapel on the Wednesday, and at Ditton on the Thursday, evening: but before I could reach Ditton on the Wednesday, I was so far spent that I thought I must have lain down on the road; yet, with much difficulty, I reached home, and then I had to go to London. Finding myself wholly unable to perform all this labour, I went to prayer, and besought God to give me more strength, less work, or a horse. I used my *prayers* as gunners use their *swivels*, turning them every way as

the various cases required. I then hired a horse to ride to town; and, when I came there, went to put him up at Mr. Jackson's livery-stables, near the chapel, in Margaret-street; but the ostler told me they had not room to take him in. I asked if his master was in the yard. He said, Yes. I desired to see him; and he told me he could not take the horse in. I was then going out of the yard, when he stepped after me, and asked if I was the person that preached at Margaret-street chapel. I told him I was. He burst into tears, saying, he would send one of his own horses out and take mine in; and informed me of his coming one night to hear me out of curiosity, because he had been informed that I had been a coal-heaver. He then told me that, under the first sermon, God shewed him the insufficiency of his own wretched righteousness—the carnality and hypocrisy of his religion—the true state of his soul—and the necessity of the spirit and grace of Christ Jesus the Lord to change his heart if ever he was saved; and

blessed God for sending me there. This was good news to me. He also said that some of my friends had been gathering money to buy me a horse, and that he gave something towards him. Directly after, I found the horse was bought and paid for; and one person gave me a guinea to buy a bridle, another gave me two whips, a third gave me somethings necessary for the stable, another trusted me for a saddle—and here was a full answer to my prayer: so I mounted my horse and rode home, and he turned out as good an animal as ever was rode. I believe this horse was the gift of God, because he tells me in his word that all the beasts of the forest are his, and so are the cattle on a thousand hills. I have often thought that, if my horse could have spoken, *he would have had more to say than Balaam's ass*; as he might have said, '*I am an answer to my master's prayers—I live by my master's faith*, travel with mysteries, and suffer persecution, but I do not know for what." P. 83—85.

"Having now had my horse for some time, and riding a great deal every week, I soon wore my *breeches* out, as they were not fit to ride in. I hope the reader will excuse my mentioning the word *breeches*, which I should have avoided, had not this passage of scripture obtruded into my mind, just as I had resolved in my own thoughts not to mention this kind providence of God.— 'And thou shalt make them linen breeches to cover their nakedness; from the loins even unto the thighs shall they reach. And they shall be upon Aaron and upon his sons when they come into the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place; that they bear not iniquity, and die. It shall be a statute for ever unto him and his seed after him.' Exod. xxviii. 42, 43. By which, and three others, (namely, Ezek. xliv. 18; Lev. vi. 10; and Lev. xvi. 4.) I saw that it was no crime to mention the word *breeches*, nor the way in which God sent them to me; Aaron and his sons being clothed entirely

by Providence; and as God himself condescended to give orders what they should be made of, and how they should be cut. And I believe the same God ordered mine, as I trust it will appear in the following history.

"The scripture tells us to call no man master, for one is our master, even Christ. I therefore told my most bountiful and ever-adored Master what I wanted; and he, who stripp'd Adam and Eve of their fig-leaved aprons, and made coats of skins and clothed them; and who clothes the grass of the field, which to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven; must clothe us, or we shall soon go naked:—and so Israel found it, when God took away his wool and his flax, which he gave to cover their nakedness, and which they prepared for Baal; for which iniquity were their skirts discovered, and their heels made bare. Jer. xiii. 22.

"*I often made very free in my prayers with my invaluable Master for this favour;*

but he still kept me so amazingly poor that I could not get them at any rate. At last I was determined to go to a friend of mine at Kingston, who is of that branch of business, to bespeak a pair, and to get him to trust me until my Master sent me money to pay him. I was that day going to London, fully determined to bespeak them as I rode through the town. However, when I passed the shop, I forgot it; but when I came to London, I called on Mr. Croucher, a shoemaker in Shepherd's Market, who told me a parcel was left there for me, but what it was he knew not. I opened it, and behold there was a pair of *leather breeches*, with a note in them! the substance of which was, to the best of my remembrance, as follows:

'Sir,

'I have sent you a pair of breeches, and hope they will fit. I beg your acceptance of them; and if they want any alteration, leave in a note what the alteration is, and I will call in a few days and alter them.

J. S.'

"I tried them on, and they fitted as well as if I had been measured for them: at which I was amazed, having never been measured by any leather breeches-maker in London. I wrote an answer to the note, to this effect:

'Sir,

'I received your present, and thank you for it. I was going to order a pair of leather breeches to be made, because I did not know till now that my Master had bespoke them of you. They fit very well, which fully convinces me that the same God, who moved thy heart to give, guided thy hand to cut; because he perfectly knows my size, having clothed me in a miraculous manner for near five years. When you are in trouble, Sir, I hope you will tell my Master of this, and what you have done for me, and he will repay you with honour.'

"This is as near as I am able to relate it; and I added,

'I cannot make out *I. S.* unless I put *I*

for *Israelite indeed*, and *S.* for *Sincerity*; because you did not sound a trumpet before you, as the hypocrites do.'

"About that time twelvemonth I got another pair of breeches in the same extraordinary manner, without my ever being measured for them." P. 85—88.

"One providence I had almost forgot. We were at that time very badly off for beds and bedding; my children were no better provided than the Saviour when he laid in a manger, for they slept upon bags of hay; but prayer at a long run brought in these things also. Some of my most intimate acquaintances knew how I was tried in this respect, though I never made it known to any body who was capable of helping me out of my trouble. But one night, after I had done preaching at Richmond, a person invited me home to his house, and shewed me a large bundle tied up, saying it was for me. I asked who the donor was; he replied,

'You are not to know that.' I carried it home, when, lo! it proved to be bedding, and the very things I stood so much in need of!" P. 91.

"Perceiving that the Lord approved of a bold, though not of a presumptuous beggar, agreeable to his word, 'Let us come boldly unto the throne of grace,' &c. I boldly asked him the favour, and persevered in it, until I was one day informed by a friend that four or five pious people were coming on such a day from London to visit me. Then my faith told me I should soon have the bed. Accordingly they came, and we had some comfortable conversation together. Toward evening they departed, giving me four guineas. O! what Christian in his right mind would murmur and complain at his poverty, when, with a watchful eye, he sees such liberal supplies poured forth from the inexhaustible stores of Providence! Thus God, who provided a comfortable lodging for Elisha the prophet, provided me 'a bed, a

table, a stool, and a candlestick.' 2 Kings iv. 10.

" I was determined to keep this money for a bed; and therefore went to a good man in London, and bespoke one; which he very soon sent me, with a rug also, and a pair of very good blankets. Soon after I called to pay him for it; when he told me to pay his clerk, who gave me a receipt for the same; but afterwards the gentleman went a little way with me, and at his departure gave me all the money back again. How sweet are temporal mercies, when received by those who are under the influence of grace! when they are seen to come from a covenant with God and Father, in answer to the simple prayer of faith." P. 92, 93.

" But when I got about half over the common, it came suddenly into my mind to go out of the horse-road into a little narrow track, which leads over the hills, between the Hand-post and the Bath-house. I

could gain but very little ground by this, nor do I remember that I had ever gone that way before; but I soon found what this impression meant; for there was to be a battle fought between a stoat, or weasel, and a large rabbit. The stoat, or weasel, was to fight the battle and to win the field, and I was to take the prey. So I took up my rabbit, and gladly carried him home; and it proved as fine a one as I ever saw, being quite in season, in every sense of the word, for we had nothing but bread in the house.

"This occurrence happened before I received the horse. But I cannot recollect every circumstance so as to range it in its proper place, my memory being naturally bad. I lived in this manner for seven or eight years together, and every day afforded some providence or trial.

"My dame about this time was pregnant, and not far from her lying-in. She gave me a large catalogue of the necessaries that she

should want against that time. I told her I had no money, nor was there any signs of my having any, and we could not get them without. She went on in suspense this way, till she expected her time every day, and began at last to fret amazingly. I told her I thought that God tried her thus, because she was remiss in the blessed privilege of private prayer. I also remarked to her, that God would be inquired of by us, that he might do these things for us, and that, if she did not pray for them, she was not like to have them. I believe this drove my dame to prayer; for soon after this there was a parcel sent from Lambeth, another from Kingston, another from Richmond, and a few things from some neighbours nearer home. I now asked the old woman if she thought she had got enough. She replied, 'Yes, and more than enough.'—God had exceeded all her desires; for she had feared that she should not get money to buy the stuff to make up her little things; and that, if she did get it, it would have been so late that she should not have

had time to make them: 'but God,' said she, 'has sent them ready-made.' So Mary was very well pleased, and richly supplied.— And I think, for three or four births successively, the Almighty raised up one Dorcas here, and another there, to provide for my dame against her lying-in." P. 110, 111.

"At another time, when Providence had been exercising my faith and patience till the cupboard was quite empty, in answer to simple prayer he sent one of the largest hams that I ever saw. Indeed I saw clearly that I had nothing to do but to pray, to study, and to preach; for God took care for me, and my family also, agreeable to his own promise." P. 125.

"After I had preached there a few times, it came to pass one evening, when I had finished my sermon, that a person came to inform me that a woman (who was lately taken very ill, and was apparently near death) desired to see me. I accordingly

went; and, when I came to her bedſide, asked her if she had sent for me. She replied, 'Yes.' I asked her what she had sent for me to do. She said, to pray by her. I asked her what I was to pray for—that she might be raised up again? She replied, 'No; pray God to give resignation to his will, and that he may not depart from me.' I asked her if she was sure the Lord was with her. She said, 'Yes.' She now gave me a very sweet account of the operations of the Holy Ghost, and of the precious liberty which he proclaimed by the revelation and application of Christ crucified to her understanding, mind, and conscience. These tidings made my bowels yearn. O! the conversion of such souls are greater riches to me than all the treasures of Egypt! God in mercy soon after raised her up again; and she attended my ministry for about two years, appearing a most amiable Christian. She always sat with her head down, and heard me with all the attention imaginable; and, when *she had got her portion,* like Han-

nah, she would set off without either looking or speaking to any body, as if she suspected every one that spoke to her to be a robber of her conscience. Indeed *she was no bastard*—she was *my own daughter*—she loved a private religion, that lay between Christ crucified and her own conscience; and I believe she kept her day-book very strictly. Her name is Stuart. I dearly *loved her ſoul in the bowels* of Christ, as *I had begotten* her, and had sorely travailed for her." P. 143—145.

"A good gentleman, with whom I had but little acquaintance, and of whom I bought a load of timber, sent it me in with a bill and receipt in full, as a present to the Chapel of Providence.—Another good man came with tears in his eyes, and blessed me, and desired to paint my pulpit, desk, &c. as a present to the chapel.—Another person gave half a dozen chairs for the vestry; and my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Lyon, furnished me with a tea-chest well stored, and a set of

china.—My good friends Mr. and Mrs. Smith furnished me with a very handsome bed, bedstead, and all its furniture and necessaries, that I might not be under the necessity of walking home in the cold winter nights.—A daughter of mine in the faith gave me a looking-glass for my chapel study.—Another friend gave me my pulpit-cushion, and a book-case for my study.—Another gave me a book-case for the vestry. —And my good friend Mr. E. seemed to level all his displeasure at the devil; for he was in hopes I should be enabled, through the gracious arm of the Lord, to cut Rahab in pieces; therefore he furnished me with a sword of the Spirit—a new Bible, with Morocco binding and silver clasps." P. 148, 149.

"However, the Almighty condescended to stop the rapid spreading of this disease by a singular circumstance. I received the following note from an unknown friend:

'Mr. Anti-Arminius's free-grace love to

Mr. Huntington, begs his acceptance of a dish of dead men's brains; he believes most of them are of the evangelical family: they will be with him in a day or two: he is desired to ask no questions of the bearers.

'*Dead-man's Place,*' &c.

"What these dead men's brains were, I could not conjecture; but suspected something to be sent by way of contempt, as the doctrines which God hath taught me are point blank against Arminianism. Howbeit, in a day or two the dead men's brains arrived in a very large packing-case, brought by two chairmen; which I at first refused to take in, suspecting an Arminian cheat; however, I opened the wooden scull, examined the brains, and found them to be three or four hundred volumes of divinity, geography, history, &c.

"A few days afterwards he was pleased to send me another dish of brains, or a second course; which he informed me, by

note, consisted of some good and some bad; and so I found them: for, among others, were the tracts of the irreverent Dr. Priestley, clothed in a suit of red Morocco embroidered with gold. I had not read much of him before his priestly craft greatly disgusted me. I stripped him out of his coat of many colours, and served it as, I think, Christ will serve the author; that is, I cut it asunder, and appointed it a portion in the fire, as the Lord will do with all hypocrites and unbelievers. I confess I was much displeased to find some precious old authors, who were administering comfort to the people of God, with nothing but a sheep's-skin jacket about them; while the Doctor, that sworn enemy to the God of armies, (busy in undermining and destroying that comfort,) was strutting about with an embroidered uniform! 'Ah, Doctor!' thought I, 'I will put this scarlet suit on one of these old warriors who have been good soldiers of Jesus Christ; they shall walk in embroidery, for they are worthy.' There were a few more

sly hypocrites crept in among them, to whom I gave house-room until I found them out, when I sent them bag and baggage after the Doctor." P. 157, 158.

"Reader, I could have mentioned many more blessings which came to me in a way of providence; but as I have recited, perhaps, too many of them already, I have here given thee only a few fathoms of heavenly meditation, with which the God of all grace enabled me to sound this mystery in a fit of sickness that befell me at Thames Ditton. Then it was that I received the greatest part of this consistent chain; the links of which kept every faculty of my soul, and every thought of my heart, so delighted and entertained, that I sat down a most willing, submissive, and delighted captive, at the foot of my prevailing lover and almighty conqueror." P. 172.

The above extracts, which I have taken from the righteous book, writ-

ten by that pious coal-heaver, cobler, and divine, Doctor Huntington, intitled, *Huntington's Bank of Faith*, I most cordially recommend to your attention, ye lovely Cyprians! By them you will be taught how to wrestle with Heaven; but remember, you must use your *prayers* as gunners use their *swivels* *, turning them every way as your various cases require, or they will have but little effect; and you must positively leave off danceing, for that, he informs you, in page 27 and 28 of his pious book, "is just as serviceable a net to ruin souls as devils could invent." Observe, when you pray for any thing in which you are considerably interested, that you go under a hedge to pray, cut a stick half through, bend it

* Vide Huntington's expressions, page 83, in his Bank of Faith.

down, come back, look at it, and praise God if the favour you ask is granted. At another time you must go into your tool-house in the garden, and wrestle hard with God. This pious man never prayed for any thing but he informs you the Lord sent it him. The Lord killed carps, eels, partridges and rabbits for him, to feed his children with. When he had nothing left to eat, nor any money to buy any victuals, the Lord took away his appetite for three or four days. And at another time, when he knew there was no food in the house, he looked in the cupboard, and found that his heavenly master had sent him a large ham. His prayers are so substantially efficacious, that whatever he requests by prayer is sent him; not only clothes of every sort for him and his wife, but even the minutest articles of life, such as bedding, stools, candlesticks,

whips, looking-glasses, tables, tea, sugar, &c. &c. But, above all, I charge you, ye lovely Cyprians! be mindful how he got his leathern *breeches*, as it must give you great satisfaction. If, you can be as well fitted for a pair as this pious coal-heaver, cobler, and divine was, without any tailor taking measure of you, your modesty will never be put to the blush. Now I cannot see any reason whatever why you should not obtain all the various benefits, gifts, and advantages which were granted to this pious coal-heaver and cobler, provided you have equal faith with him; for without faith nothing is to be obtained.

I have given you, ye lovely Cyprians, every instruction in my power for the happiness of your souls and bodies in this world; and, to secure it in both instances, you cannot do better than follow

the precepts laid down by this righteous coal-heaver and cobler, in his book intitled, *Huntington's Bank of Faith*. If you, ye lovely Cyprians, have but equal faith with this pious man, every thing in life, that you can possibly desire to have, you are plainly shewn how to obtain, excepting gin; and as I do not recollect, in any part of this enlightened and pious work, mention being made of his ever having obtained that wholesome liquor either by faith or prayer, I confess I am at a loss how to instruct you relative to the acquiring of this liquor, except by purchase. However, should you, by the means which he employed, obtain a superfluity of clothes, our father's brother * will always indulge you with the loan of a trifle on a pledge; and as this liquor is so salutary

* Our uncle.

and conducive to your health as well as to your happiness, every exertion must be used to obtain it; therefore, mind the directions this pious man gives how you are to obtain any thing you most ardently wish for: be mindful, then, to *wrestle* hard, and turn your *prayers* in every direction as *gunners* turn their *swivels*. This direction, strictly observed, will, when you are once brought to believe it, obtain every thing you wish an—excellent and useful endowment which this pious coal-heaver and cobler was blessed with; and if you, ye lovely Cyprians, can but arrive at the same proficiency, you will find it of the greatest advantage. It will prevent your passing many unhappy hours when the green-eye'd monster inflames your heart. Whenever this pious man's wife went to glean in the harvest-fields, not informing him by any means

which way she intended to go, his piety taught him to go directly straight to the place where she was; which was equally the same, he informs you, whether she had gone north, south, east, or west. Now, if, by faith, wrestling hard, and throwing your prayers in every direction as gunners turn their swivels, and by leaving off dancing, (for that he positively forbids as a deadly sin,) you can arrive at the same perfection in finding any person you immediately wish to see, you will be the happiest mortals on earth; for, if the captain or your flashman should ever go astray, you will immediately know on what part of the town to dash after him, and be enabled to take vengeance on your rival's countenance. If you find him paying his court to another female, the *gay deceiver* can have nothing to plead in excuse,

and you will get rid of a gentleman who, at the best of times, is but a troublesome guest. Make yourselves, therefore, I entreat you, perfect mistresses of this pious man's writings, and tread in his paths with unerring attention: after which you may study two other pious Works, *Bunyan's Shove to a Heavy-breeched Christian*, and *Heaven taken by Storm by a Repentant Sinner*; with the assistance of these two, in addition to the pious Huntington's Bank of Faith, you must shortly get into the high road to heaven, from which if you ever wander, "the devil himself (to use his expression) must be within your bodies, and Rahab have full possession of your soul."

Be mindful that you constantly frequent the Tabernacle, in preference to the Church of your established religion, and in

preference to the rational sermons preached by bishops, deans, and other dignified clergymen of the established Church of England: seek far and wide the pious and instructive harangues of the following enlightened and righteous men, who all serve in the bowels of Christ *, whether they deliver their pious instructions and exhortations to repentance and faith either in tub or pulpit, in tabernacle, or in the high-ways, in a cart, or from an hay-cock:

Rev. Mr. Norman,	Dealer in old clothes.
Mr. Wilson,	Grinder.
Mr. Timothy Hands,	Sheep's head seller.
Mr. Sanders,	Coach-painter.
Mr. Godston,	Pressman.
Mr. O——,	Mangle-maker.
Mr. Downes,	Glazier.
Mr. Hiskup,	Footman to T. C. Esq.

* Vide Huntington's Subscription to the Dedication of his Bank of Faith.

Rev. Mr. Stanton,	Tooth-drawer, periwig-maker, and phlebotomist.
Mr. Party,	Breeches-maker.

The wisdom, science, education, and learning of the clergy of our established Church, can by no means be put in competition with the superior talents and abilities of the above-named pious, learned, and scientific disciples of Methodism*, who, to use the pious Huntington's expressions, serve in the bowels of Christ; for they, as the righteous coal-heaver and cobler mentions, can fill you with as much religion as you can well carry away; and besides, can teach you also how to bar-

* The above are the names and professions selected out of 397 persons who took out sixpenny preaching-licences, at the Session-house, Clerkenwell, in the year 1796-7, taken from *The Rise and Dissolution of the Infidel Societies*. By W. Hamilton Reid.

ter in old clothes, to grind, to deal in sheep's heads (commonly called Field-lane ducks), to paint a coach, to press, to mangle, to mend windows, to wait at table and at tea, to draw teeth, make periwigs, and bleed, and to make breeches. Pardon me, ye lovely Cyprians! for using the word breeches: and it is my duty, having the example set me by the pious Huntington, to apologize for using that indelicate word; I ought to have said—inexpressibles. Now all these accomplishments you may turn considerably to your advantage in life: I conjure you, therefore, attend strictly to these enlightened, pious, and learned preachers.

Having performed my duty to you, ye lovely Cyprians, in endeavouring to provide for all the happiness of which your

natures are really susceptible, I am of opinion that I cannot express myself more to your satisfaction, or to my own, especially as I have lately commenced the trade of coal-merchant, than by adapting the words of the super-excellent Huntington, which are attached to the Dedication of his Bank of Faith. "I thank thee, Christian; but beseech thee not to put any titles or compliments upon me: give them to those who can make a meal of them.—Coal-heaving is hard work; and coal-heavers, and, I might add, coal-merchants, require better food than fine speeches, windy words, and airy compliments.

For the pains I have taken to correct the immorality and Jacobinism of the age, I trust the bishops (as a reward for

my laudable endeavours to promote religion, strengthen the Christian faith, and suppress immorality,) will at least order 1000 copies of this work to be purchased, and distributed amongst the poor clergy, who cannot afford, though ever so desirous, of purchasing a book so fraught with morality and the purest precepts.

And you, ye lovely Cyprians, and fair sex in general, will, I trust, be liberal in your recommendations of these volumes, after the pains I have taken to instruct you how to practise the cardinal virtues, and the attention I have paid not only to the happiness of your bodies in this life, but to the peace of your souls in another to come; together with the attention I have manifested to your health, in recommending a general and constant use of that wholesome and cheap beverage called gin. If certain ladies of fashion will but lay

aside their cordial stomachic strong waters for plain gin, by which their healths will be benefited, and the lovely Cyprians will leave off drinking brandy, rum, raspberry, and cherry-bounce, and stick to royal gin, and gin only, so *peculiarly* salutary to *their* health, it is reasonable to expect that the consumption of that liquor will increase at least one-third—then I trust I shall experience more gratitude from the distillers of that liquor than my friend Dr. Moseley has from the West-India planters and merchants for having published those excellent treatises on the salubrity and utility of coffee and sugar, which has been productive of such advantages to their trade as to increase the consumption in a very considerable degree *. For the truth of this I appeal to

* Three treatises published by Dr. Moseley, namely, Moseley on Tropical Diseases; Moseley on Cof-

the historian of the West Indies, Bryan Edwards. But great men, when their turn is served, think but little of us inferior mortals.

fee; and Moseley on Sugar—not only shew the extensive professional knowledge of the physician, but the philosophy, the philanthropy, and erudition of the scholar, and the urbanity of the gentleman.

CHAPTER III.

On the Misery and Wretchedness of Female Prostitution.

I AM extremely desirous that all persons who read this particular Chapter, should be acquainted with the real motives which have induced me to write it; and I trust and believe that they will favour them with their approbation.

Among the modern, new-fangled, and soi-disant philosophers of the present age, lost in longevity and putrified in matter, one of whom tells us that no man could die if the mind was not prejudiced by the fear of death, which makes him incapable of the *necessary degree of volition*

to live. I own I do not understand, in this sense, the meaning of the word *volition.* He might, in my humble opinion, as well talk of the air balloon of life as the volition of life, which nought but the Almighty can give and take away.

Another of these wretched animals and idiot blasphemers, whom it is degradation to mention, who draws the breath of life, and dares to assert, that if there be such a *thing* as what is *called God,* it can be *only matter* *.

These men, by arrogating to themselves a knowledge which can belong only to the Supreme Being, who made this world

* Know then thyself, presume not God to scan,
The proper study of mankind is man.

and every thing in it *, have, I am sorry to say, induced some unthinking persons to doubt the validity of certain points in religion † which constitute our chief happiness in this world, and can alone conduct us to happiness hereafter. Religion, now-a-days, is much out of fashion. But I confess I am not ashamed to own that I am old-fashioned enough to have some religion in me, and glory in an ardent, unshaken belief in God. Yet at the same time that I view the atheist with abhorrence ‡, I despise the superstitious bigot.

* Who knows but he, whose hand the lightning forms,
Who heaves Old Ocean, and who wings the storms.

† Reason, to think of God when she pretends,
Begins a censor, an adorer ends.

‡ I never heard of one of these men who had ridiculed every thing serious, when on their death-bed,

I have read the Works of these half-enlightened exotic philosophers, who spring up from the fæces of human corruption, are bred in the hot-bed of atheism, and are fostered by wickedness and depravity; these Ark-wright, literary, spinning jennies, who spend their time in spreading cobwebs to catch the wavering flies; these turnspits, who, in the metaphysical wheel, turn the spit of conjecture, while they emit the fumes of a distempered imagination, and the vapours of a sickly brain;—who think that they have travelled far in philosophy; but, like the dog in the wheel, end where they began. They have not brought me over to their no-faith, nor have they, in the slightest degree, shaken my belief.

and apprised of their approaching dissolution, who did not make a *watery* end.

Stronger toils must they spread to entangle me. The little finger of common sense, by one single movement, wipes away such cobweb films, which for an instant may dazzle, but never can blind the true and perfect vision.

If one of these men were to ask me how I know that there is a God, I would give him for answer the words of the poor ignorant Arab of the desert; who, when asked that question by one of these metaphysical turnspits in philosophy, replied, "In the same way that I am able to tell, by the print impressed on the sand, whether it was a man or a beast which had passed that way." I should like to be informed by one of these philosophers, what confines the sun between the tropics. It is not to be accounted for by any philosophical hypo-

thesis. He who walks daily in the great temple of Nature, and contemplates her wondrous works, wants no assistance to assure him of the existence of a Creator: his wondrous works all nature proclaims aloud; it is conspicuous to every one, and is known even to the blind; for, though deprived of sight, they feel the warmth of the sun; and the untutored Indian sees God in the clouds, and hears him in the winds. We cannot even draw our breath without conviction. How fated to misery is that nation, governed by a king, who fears not a future state of remuneration! there is hardly any excess, cruelty, or oppression, of which he may not be guilty.

It is not possible to keep society together without religion: such is my irrevocable opinion. But I certainly am no

bigot: and I have ever thought that there is a wide difference between priestcraft and religion. Nor does any one see the folly of superstition in a more ridiculous point of view than myself. Nor am I one of those hypocritical psalm-singing repentants, who, conscious of the infamies they have committed in their more early days, think for certain, that, to insure their future and eternal happiness, it is necessary to set apart so many hours in the day to prayer and hymning. One self-approving hour far outweighs whole years of Tabernacle prayer and Tabernacle praise.

The *mens conscia recti* is a surer guide to happiness hereafter, than all the formularies that have ever been established. I know the use and the necessity of public

worship; but the daily attendance at a parish-church will be of little avail, both for this world and that which is to come, if we do not contrive to establish a chapel of ease in our own breast. There I learn, from the preachings of Conscience, an heavenly-gifted orator, ordained to its holy work by God himself, that it is my duty, as it is my inclination, to support and plead the cause of seduced, deserted, and miserable woman.

Is there a man so base and so unfeeling, who walks the streets of this metropolis at late hours, without feeling the utmost pity and compassion for the miserable objects whom they behold taking up their night's lodging on some dunghill, or under gateways, waiting for the early opening in the morn of some noxious

gin-shop, their sole and only residence or abode, whilst the vile seducer, at that moment, revels in every luxury of life?

Amongst the lower order of people, though highly culpable, yet the seducing a virgin, and turning her adrift on the wide world without any maintenance whatever, and absolutely compelling her to prostitute herself in the public streets to satisfy the calls of hunger, is more easy to be accounted for: but in respect to the gentleman of education and fortune, there is no palliation or the smallest excuse for the crime, and the infamy is increased an hundred fold. Yet, how many women do I know, who have been seduced by such men, and prevailed on to quit their parents and desert an hospitable home, with every assurance of the tenderest regard and protection! Some have not, to my know-

ledge, even scrupled to offer matrimony to accomplish their treacherous designs—that nuptial bait so calculated to lead a fond and doating woman to the arms of the seducer: yet, after all, and every promise of the most tender and sacred nature, they have taken the lovely all-credulous fair one to some common brothel, where, after having gratified their barbarous passion, they have left her to the power of a mercenary, unrelenting, infernal procuress: she is soon brought in debt to the Lady Abbess, who threatens to send her to prison, or to turn her into the streets, unless she consents to her infamous designs. To her parents she cannot return. Deserted by the man on whom she has placed her affections, and in whom she had reposed the utmost confidence, she has no alternative: a prison, famine, or prostitution await her. Of these three

cruel evils, the wretched being chooses that which appears to her, to be the least; and nought remains for her but to become the victim of despair, or to seek for refuge from the pangs of her bosom, in a life of profligacy and intemperance: painful disease, and confirmed depravity, too often close the scene. Some few, before they arrive at this miserable situation, have found protecting friends, who have provided them with a comfortable home, and restored them to comparative happiness: but, after all, they are but few indeed, when compared with the thousands, who sink by degrees into the lowest gulph of prostitution and infamy. Alas! how many of those who have rolled along the streets of London in their elegant equipage, who have been decked in golden array, and were finest at every fine show, have

closed their short lives in a workhouse or an hospital!

Can any man professing Christian morality, or even professing nothing more than the character of a gentleman, reconcile such deeds to his mind? Is there a man so unfeeling, so destitute of principle, as to enjoy one moment's sound repose on his pillow, when he reflects that some poor, wretched female, once fair and beauteous, though now no longer an object of desire, is reduced to the most miserable condition, by his base seduction and perjured vows? Perhaps she has not a bed of straw on which to repose her weak and weary limbs. Destitute of food, with scarce a garment to protect her from the piercing cold, and courting the lust of the lowest vagabond or midnight robber for

a momentary subsistence, it is her final allotment to curse her seducer and to die. Yet such men there are, who dare to walk the streets in open day, and arrogate to themselves the character of men of honour and of gentlemen; nay more, would attempt to cut the throat of any one who even suspects them of a contrary conduct. Monster! for man thou art not, if perchance thou shouldst cast thine eye on these pages, thou perjured, base, and infamous wretch, I hurl my contempt and execration at thee! But you deserve much more from the injured fair one; vengeance, nay death, inflicted by her hand, would be but a just atonement for her sufferings; and were she to stab thee to the heart, and give freedom to thy soul to quit its cursed abode, and fly thy base, inhuman trunk, it is no more than thou

mightest expect, though it would be a punishment inadequate to thy crime.

To prove, therefore, that you have, in reality, some spark of honour, some sense of crime, hasten, ere it be too late, to atone, by future charity and kindness, for thy past offence. Go, seek the deserted fair one far and wide, whom thou hast seduced and forsaken, and, by a generous conduct in future, make all the satisfaction in thy power for thy horrid infamy. But if thy cankered heart is hardened in misdeed, go, boast the number thou hast debauched and abandoned, and sacrifice fresh victims to thy infernal passions. But know, that injured virtue will be avenged; another world has its punishments prepared for wretches such as thou art. Satan, at thy entry into his dominions, shall

pay thee homage; while the inferior demons shall greet thee with the fraternal kiss, and make thee partakers of their destiny. Be not troubled with any alarm at the posthumous reproaches of this world after death; I will insure thee the praises of posterity. Half a dozen seven-shilling pieces shall purchase thee as many paragraphs in the public papers, which shall hold thee up to the admiring multitude as a paragon of virtue, and an example for the age in which thou hast lived; and who will dare to contradict the assertions of those authentic, candid, and impartial repositories of the current events of the world?

But what am I writing? If your heart is so hardened, if you are so lost to all sensibility of what is truly honourable in the human character, you will laugh at

the opinion of the world: and if, in a moment of returning virtue, you should repair, to the utmost of your power, the wrongs which you have done, you will secure the favour of all those whose approval is honour, and whose friendship is happiness. To err is in the nature of man, but to persevere in error, in spite of the dictates of honour, the suggestions of conscience, and the precepts of religion, belongs only to the votaries of the devil.—This is a very momentous concern, in which we are all deeply interested: I beseech you, therefore, ye gallant, gay Lotharios of the age, to look to it.

Before I shall propose any method by which *lovely woman* may be more protected than she is at present, I shall state the justice of the law of the land, by which every *man* may ob-

tain not only redress, but heavy damages, from the person who does him an injury, traduces his character, or vilifies him so as to affect his worldly interest. If a nobleman or private gentleman is vilified or libelled, the law gives him ample redress by heavy damages. If a tradesman is vilified or libelled, he prosecutes, and the law gives him damages according to the injury he is supposed to have received, or may receive, relative to his trade. Unmarried women of fashion have received heavy damages * for scandalous paragraphs against them even in the newspapers: men and women of all descriptions have redress open to them from the law of the land, except the much to be

* Mr. Tattersall paid 4000l. damages for a paragraph in the newspaper of which he was proprietor, though he never knew it was inserted until he arrived from his country-house.

pitied seduced and abandoned fair one, whose injury is by far the greatest that man or woman can sustain. As for the nobleman or gentleman, when the aspersions on his character are cleared up in public court, it is sufficient to his honour; the fining or imprisonment of the libeller is but of little consequence to him; the verdict of a jury sets all right between him and the world.

Before I mention the actual and only redress that a woman who has been seduced and abandoned can obtain from a court of justice, I will ask a few questions of those barristers who are in the most constant habits of pleading at the bar, from the celebrity of their talents and oratory. Do they often receive a brief to plead the cause of a woman who prosecutes for the non-compliance in a promise of matri-

mony, and at the same time acknowledges, that, in consequence of that promise, she has given up her person to the defendant? I believe they will not answer me in the affirmative. Let us therefore examine what redress a woman, in such a situation, can obtain in a court of justice. I never yet heard of a woman appearing to prosecute for a non-compliance of marriage, who instructed her counsel, in his pleadings, to state, that on the defendant's promising her marriage, she yielded to his wishes. I am of opinion that her counsel would advise her to keep that part of the history to herself. But might not the opposite counsel, on cross-examination, inquire whether she had ever submitted her person to the defendant? And might it not be observed, with some degree of effect, to the jury, that it would have been more prudent to have gone to

church first, and then have consummated the nuptials? What charge would a judge give to the jury on such an occasion? and what damages would they give to such a woman? The action, I fear, would be soon got rid of, and I have my doubts whether or not she might not be told that she was an impudent hussey for demanding damages for a breach of promise of marriage, when she had wantonly put herself in a situation in which it would have been disgraceful in any man to have fulfilled it.

But a greater misfortune attends the incautious, credulous, unsuspicious fair one, who, from real affection, and knowing the sincerity of her own heart, suspects neither deceit or perjury from her seducer. She has no witnesses to bring forward to attest his perjured promises: before Hea-

ven, and in secret, those vows were made: she therefore has not, nor can she have redress. But I must, at the same time, beg leave to ask, if a woman is seduced and abandoned, is not the injury done to her greater than the libelling or vilifying the character of a gentleman or a tradesman? Yet they have ample redress: the gentleman, when his character is cleared up, suffers not in the least, and has the pleasing gratification, in all companies where he goes, of being complimented and congratulated on the honesty of his conduct, every one deprecating the villany of the assassin of his character. The tradesman even benefits from the false aspersion; for, such is the natural compassion of mankind, that many are induced to deal with an injured, honest man, who otherwise would not have thought about him, or, perhaps, have ever heard of him.

But where does the kind, incautious, and affectionate woman find redress? No-where. If, indeed, in addition to the heart-breaking misery of being thus abandoned, she should have the additional misery of being with child, she may certainly swear the child to the seducer, and compel him to pay forty pounds to the parish, who will take care of the infant, if she chooses to part with it; but it must be an unnatural mother who does not wish to have the care of her own offspring. In this place, I believe I am correct, the parish will only allow her at most three shillings per week. Thus the infernal perjured miscreant gets rid of the woman and the child; for she cannot compel him to give her any maintenance. Thus, deserted by her friends, and forsaken by him, she is left to make her way in the world as well as she can. Many, it can-

not be denied, are compelled, from impending starvation, to seek the means of satisfying hunger by prostitution; but they are very few indeed, when compared with the great family of women who are supported by it.

In former days, every unmarried woman who had a child was compelled to stand publicly in the church, in a white sheet; but the shame and exposure of this punishment frequently produced the most unnatural of crimes, as the terror of such a public exposition was the cause of many women murdering their children, for which reason that fatal ceremony is now altogether omitted: nevertheless, the unfeeling and censorious part of the world deride and censure a woman who has had this misfortune. They, alas! never look into their own conduct,

but are ever greedy to slander others; and yet people with such a disposition go to church constantly, and dare call themselves Christians; but little do they imitate or think of the all-forgiving love and kindness of the Author of their religion, who even pardoned the woman taken in adultery.

Before I give any opinion how these unfortunate and injured women might be redressed and protected, I will relate three instances of villany perpetrated by unfeeling monsters, which, within a few years, have come to my knowledge, and I pledge my honour to the truth of them.

A young woman, the daughter of a reputable tradesman, happened to gain the friendship of the daughter of a gentleman of wealth and consequence, and

such were her amiable manners, that the parents of the young lady were induced to take her into their house and complete her education. There an officer persuaded her by the usual arts, and a most solemn promise of marriage, to elope with him to the Isle of Wight. But he remained only one night with her; and, without giving her the least suspicion of his intentions, went on board the fleet then lying at Spithead under sailing orders for the West Indies. When she arose in the morning, and inquired after her lover, the waiter of the inn informed her that the gentleman had taken his trunk away with him, and was gone in a boat on board the fleet at Spithead. At the same time he informed her that every thing was paid in the house, supposing her, from the conduct of this ruffian, to be a woman of pleasure.

I need not tell the reader the distraction and misery of mind she must have suffered. Having quitted her parents and her protectors, where she was educated, to them she could not return; and, in this wretched situation, she knew not what step to take, or what measure to pursue. At length she recollected that two young ladies, with whom she had been in the strictest habits of friendship, lived not far from the place of her misery. She wrote to them, requesting they would be so kind as to call on her; at the same time informing them in general terms, that, from some unforeseen and extraordinary events, she was in the greatest distress. They immediately came to her, when she related to them the whole of her misfortune. These excellent girls went home to their father, and told him the whole history. That worthy man

instantly took her to his own house, treated her with the utmost affection and tenderness, soothed her sorrows, and after a certain time, the affair being known only to his family, he reconciled her parents to her, and restored her to them.— The villainous miscreant of a seducer died of the yellow fever shortly after his arrival in the West Indies.

My next history is of a girl, the daughter of a reputable tradesman in a country town, who had for two or three years lived as lady's maid in a genteel family in the neighbourhood. An officer in one of his Majesty's regiments prevailed on this girl to quit her place, with every promise of protection, and to live with him. When she had been with him only twenty-four hours, the father, being informed of her elopement, made a diligent search after

her throughout the quarters of the regiment; but her seducer concealed her so as to elude the vigilance of her father, and sent her with a soldier's wife to an inn in London, assuring her that, as soon as his duty would permit him, he would follow her. Four days after, he sent her four guineas, and told her by letter that it was impossible for him to live with her; for, if his parents should discover the connection, it would prove his ruin. I am of opinion, that, in justice, they should have discarded him for ever for so base a conduct towards the woman he had thus seduced and deserted. I most solemnly declare, that I would make a son of mine, if I had one, allow a woman in this predicament an ample maintenance, according to his power; or I would disinherit him for ever. By the greatest chance in the world, the wife of an officer

in the navy came up from Chatham to the same inn, when, observing this girl extremely miserable, she prevailed on her to disclose her distress, and this amiable and generous woman took her into her own family. She has since, as I have been informed, married an officer in the navy.

It is but an act of justice to mention, in this place, how kind, affectionate, and generous the gallant tar is to woman. There is scarcely an instance of a sailor deserting a woman, or using her ill. Rough at sea as the boisterous billows, unconquerable they ride over the foaming surge, and, masters of the waves, to woman, and to woman only, do they own subjection. They know the value of the loveliest part of human nature, and treat them as they deserve, with honour, sincerity, and protection. Would

I could say the same in general of their brethren in war! But with sorrow do I relate, that many seek as much to ruin a woman, as others seek a civic crown; and regard every virgin sacrificed to their infernal lust, as a fresh laurel on their brow. Nor are there a few who feel as little remorse in turning a woman on the town, as in turning a horse for the winter, to save expence, on a common. I am no friend to an increase of penal statutes; we have enough of them. Yet I should wish to see another, with heavy punishments for female seduction, added to the number.

The third and last instance of the baseness and villany of man towards woman, with which I shall trouble the reader, although I could give fifty more, is of a servant girl who lived with a woman that

was kept by an opulent citizen. He visited this woman for some months, allowed her an income, which was paid her punctually every week; but he never let her know his name, and desired she never would ask who he was. This is a constant practice amongst citizens who are not known at the west end of the town: nay more, they often pass by fictitious names; it is their constant practice; and there are many women at this moment who are sumptuously maintained by merchants, whose *real* name they never know, and whose interest it is not to know it; for, if these delicate factors should suspect that they were discovered, it is an hundred to one if they ever entered the house again.

This *honest* citizen at last took a fancy to the servant, prevailed on her to quit

her mistress and take an apartment, promising to maintain her in comfort and independence: the girl yielded to his wishes; and the following morning he quitted her altogether, and left her to pay the lodging.

Let me soberly and seriously ask my readers what they think of these three miscreants? My opinion is, that they merit the gallows; but so, alas! it is, that, in a country renowned for the wisdom of its legislature, there is no law that can reach *them*.

I shall now propose the outlines of a remedy, to prevent such inhuman monsters from perpetrating their acts of infamy, at the expence and ruin of too credulous, confiding woman. It certainly is in the power of the legislature to afford

the sex more protection; and it is my prayer to Heaven, that some true lover of them, now in Parliament, may undertake their cause. I pledge myself, if ever I should have the honour of a seat in the House of Commons, to consult some of the most able men in this country, in order to bring forward a bill for the better protection of woman, and to afford relief and maintenance to a female, seduced and abandoned by any faithless and unfeeling man: and I trust, that, in such a just, humane, and laudable design, I should find a warm and animated support, both in the hearts and voices of a great and commanding majority of the British senate.

I am conscious of my own inability to frame a law for the prevention of such abuses; therefore I shall only give the outlines, trusting that some generous and

able senator will undertake the framing and completion of this grateful task. I propose, therefore, that every man who seduces a woman, if he does not marry her, shall be compelled to give her a maintenance, such as the legislature may judge that she has a claim to receive, and the man, according to his circumstances and situation in life, is able to bestow. Not that I would, by any means, wish that a woman's oath should alone convict a man, and make him father a child, when she has been connected with others, which she may now do, and lay her infant to any man whom she chooses to pitch upon, although he never has been within twenty miles of her; a circumstance that has happened to many men, and particularly to an acquaintance of my own, who was thus compelled to father his brother's misdeeds. I am sanctioned for wishing to

exclude a woman's oath without some corroborating testimony, when I inform the reader, that Madame La Chevaliere d'Eon, when she personated, for some years, Le Chevalier d'Eon, had a child sworn to her.—Substantial proof should be produced, the same as in cases of *crim. con.*; and, I think, were the court to compel the seducer to maintain the woman, it would be full as laudable an act as the endeavour to make a man pay 13,000*l.* for defiling the chaste bed of a taylor*. It may be truly said, that many men could not pay such damages, and must be confined to a prison; but are not all those who are found guilty of *crim. con.* compelled to pay the verdict, lie in prison, or

* Damages were laid at 13,000*l.* and the verdict was very heavy, amounting to several thousands. With the specific sum I cannot charge my memory.

fly the country? Is not the one crime, morally speaking, as great as the other?

To consider this matter further, I am certain it would considerably lessen the number of those wretched women whom we every night see roving the streets to supply the necessaries of life, if man in certain cases, and in certain cases ONLY, (which I have minutely spoken of in my chapter on Matrimony and Polygamy,) were permitted to marry a second wife during the life of the former. To the above-mentioned chapter I refer the reader for my reasons, which are stated at a considerable length. I am confident, if these two regulations were enforced, and permitted by the legislature, that in a very few years prostitution would lose one half of its wretched victims. The Magdalen,

Foundling Hospital, and other charities, are laudable institutions: but, in effect, they are no more than attempting to lave the River Thames with hand-buckets; you must strike at the fountain-head, to dry up the stream.

Having spoken so fully of the detestation and abhorrence in which I hold the crime of seducing and abandoning women; in justice to myself, and for my own satisfaction, and particularly on account of that respect I so truly profess for all censorious old maids, church-going hypocrites, and pious, regenerated, methodistical sinners; as well as to save them the trouble of making any pleasant remarks relative to my conduct in this instance, I here most solemnly, and in the face of Heaven, declare, that I never seduced a virgin in my life. I confess that my poverty has

sometimes been the cause of my never having committed such an act, because I have ever conscientiously held it the greatest of crimes to seduce a woman, without making a suitable provision for her.

Reader, thou mayest say that I have no great virtue to boast of, and that my character is not distinguished by any pre-eminent morality. I do not claim the distinction: but truth I claim; and God, who reads my heart, knows the truth of the assertion I have just made; the fact is so. —And here let the chapter close.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the King's Bench.

The real and true state of this prison, and the misery and distress that prisoners suffer in it, are very little known to the world in general. It is the public opinion, that no persons surrender to the King's Bench but such who have money in their possession which their creditors cannot lay hold of, so that they are enabled to live there in some degree of comfort: that it is a place of mirth, festivity, and joy: that no prisoner is in want; and that, in general, those who surrender themselves only go there till a proper arrangement of their affairs can be accomplished. I have proof positive to the contrary. It is high-

ly worthy the attention of our legislature to see that the subject, restrained in the greatest blessing of life, *his liberty*, should not be in want of what is absolutely necessary to prevent the corruption and consequent destruction of the soul. The legislators possess a protection of their persons; and it becomes a duty in them to preserve their constituents from an oppressive deprivation of their personal liberty.

This prison rivals the purlieus of Wapping, St. Giles's, and St. James's, in vice, drunkenness, and debauchery; and, setting aside the indulgence of unnatural propensities, may be said to out-Herod Sodom and Gomorrah. Unless a man be of a certain age, of a bold and firm mind, and of undaunted resolution to bear with fortitude and manly dignity the oppres-

sion and heart-breaking agonies he suffers from his persecutors, he soon sinks into drunkenness and dissipation; and, what is worse, loses every sense of honour and dignity of sentiment—every moral principle and virtuous disposition, with which he may enter these walls—from the immoral contagion that is to be found in them. This contagion is so great, that, like the plague or the yellow fever, if he does not separate himself from the multitude, and live alone, which, under his circumstances, he must be more than man to do, or contrive to associate with those alone, for such there are, who bring honour and gentlemanly manners with them into their confinement, which is no very easy matter, he soon will be contaminated, and be lost to himself, to his friends, and to the world for ever.

The very air of the place is enough to infect a weak and afflicted mind; if its virtue should be able to preserve it from the despair which presents itself to many, on their passing the gates, which are barred by an unfeeling creditor; or to support the severity of the laws, and the unfeeling conduct of the fattening ministers of them.

With respect to the women to whose lot it has fallen to be doomed to this miserable and corrupting abode, those who are good become bad, and those who are bad become worse. No unhappy and unfortunate female ever did, nor do I believe ever will, quit this seat of contamination without the most degrading, if not fatal, effects of such a situation. Nay, if Diana and her nymphs, from not being able to pay the penalties for an accidental

breach of the game-laws, were to be confined one twelvemonth in the Bench, unless they were locked up in the strong stone-room, they would be completely fitted for the associates or attendants on the Paphos Queen, and perhaps in a state to furnish a set of game-keepers for the ladies of manors in that delightful island: for Messalina never stole from Claudius Cæsar's bed to greater scenes of revelling than is practised and enjoyed within these wanton walls.

There are within them from three hundred and fifty to five hundred prisoners, out of which number, I can with truth assert, there are very seldom fifty of this melancholy number who have any regular means of sustenance. I do not mean to say that prisoners have ever been absolutely starved to death; but this

I positively assert, that numbers of the lower order, and many officers confined some even for small debts under fifty pounds *, who have served their country with gallantry and fidelity, and have bled in her defence, have often gone a whole week with not above three or four meals of victuals; nay more, have frequently been destitute of a penny to buy them a roll of bread for breakfast. The comfort of appeasing hunger is too great a luxury for a confined debtor to be sure of enjoying. And if a creditor, in this boasted land of liberty, were compelled to allow his debtor in prison one good meal of victuals a-day, it would, I doubt not, be exclaimed against as an horrid act of compulsory injustice. "No; he owes me money;

* I shall speak hereafter of officers confined for small debts.

to prison he shall go; and, when he is there, whether he starves or not is no concern of mine." I call on the supreme justice of Heaven to determine, whether, in a land which boasts so loudly of its liberty, of the justice of its laws, and the lenity of its government, or in any other land—whether, I say, it is just, that, because I have been extravagant and imprudent, or even if I have done worse, that because I am a debtor, I should suffer the most searching of all penalties, that of hunger? Is it not sufficient atonement to the injured creditor to deprive me of my liberty? but must he starve me also? Am I also to be deprived of the sixpence a-day, at best a miserable pittance, which the law of my country gives me, by the petty-fogging reptile, ycleped an attorney, who, by some quirk or quibble, or litigious oath or process, can, for near

twelve months, prevent the prisoner from receiving the allowance which the law of the land intended should be paid him instantly on his committal, to keep him from starving? Just Heaven! shower down thy vengeance, I beseech thee, on all such infamous and inhuman oppressors of their fellow-creatures! or soften their hearts, and turn them from deeds of cruelty and oppression!

If a prisoner be arrested, and surrenders to the King's Bench in the month of June, after the term is over, there being no term till the next November, during a period of near five months, he may starve; for, until the Court is sitting, he cannot apply for his groats; but when November arrives, and he applies for them, then the attorney may, by a litigious process, prevent him from recovering the miserable

boon until the following May. Many prisoners, during the five months of this long vacation, have suffered cruelly, and some would have absolutely starved, if it had not been for the generosity of some gentlemen, who themselves are prisoners, and have it in their power to contribute to the wants of the wretched sufferer. Many gentlemen, as well as others of superior stations in life, for several weeks, have, to my knowledge, for successive days, never known what it was to enjoy one good meal.

Nor is this all: from the scanty fare, and irregularity of their diet, they frequently contract diseases, which they have carried with them to their graves, and made them miserable objects during their lives. One gentleman, who, if he had justice done him, would be worth from

thirty-five to fifty thousand pounds, during four months was not able to purchase any other aliment than a cask of sea biscuit, with some brown tea and treacle. From the bad quality of the biscuit, he was seized with a violent bowel complaint, from which he with difficulty recovered. During his illness, his humane relations, who, by a suit in Chancery, had thrown him into prison, sent to the prison door, every other day, to know if he was dead; but never came near him, or sent him any relief. Providence has spared his life, I trust, to enable him to punish such inhuman monsters.

But, supposing every prisoner to receive sixpence per day from his creditor, I will ask one simple question; will any man venture to assert that a man can live on such a stipend? What can he purchase for

it? Let those who make this law try, only for one day, what they can purchase for such a sum, and they will find that they will go to bed both hungry and thirsty, unless they drink water; for a sufficient quantity of bread and small beer cannot be purchased for that money to satisfy their appetite and their thirst.

The author was confined in the year 1798, and speaks of the price of provisions at that period, when they were above a third cheaper than at present. What can a prisoner buy now, in 1801, for sixpence, when even bread is at twenty-pence the quartern loaf, and all provisions bear a proportionate exorbitance? I shall endeavour to make a calculation of what a prisoner may purchase for sixpence. The quartern loaf weighs four pounds five ounces, and is at twenty-pence; beer at

four-pence the quart: one pint of porter at two-pence, and one pound of bread at four-pence farthing the pound, costs six-pence farthing. By this calculation, a prisoner cannot purchase one pound of bread and one pint of porter per day. Meat is totally out of the question: one meal per day of bread and meat is too great a luxury for a debtor to enjoy. I will ask any unfeeling church-going hypocrite, when he lifts his sanctified eyes to heaven, and repeats that petition, in the most beautiful of all prayers, "Give us this day our daily bread," when, at that very time, he is starving his debtor; I will ask him how he dare supplicate that just Being, who declared that he will shut the gates of heaven against such as refuse to visit those who are sick and in prison?

I know it is said, with justice, that a

prisoner for debt is not to live in prison at the expence of his creditor. Certainly not. For some idle vagabonds would run in debt on purpose to be supported without labouring for their maintenance. But, in return, I will ask, whether it is just he should be starved? But poverty is the greatest of all crimes; therefore, in the first instance, the law is more severe against a debtor than a robber, a murderer, or a catamite; for they are taken before a justice of the peace, and sufficient cause must be shewn, before they can be committed: but a man may often be taken by a bailiff, and dragged to prison, on the false oath of a villain, and deprived of the dearest blessing in life, his liberty. It is said, that if a man be imprisoned falsely, he has sufficient redress from the laws of the land. I deny it; he has not: and, to validate my assertion, I will state the extent of the

redress he can obtain. I could give more than one hundred cases, full as grievous and oppressive; but, that I may not bear too hard on the sensibility of my humane readers, and, I hope, I shall have many of them, I will content myself with the following relation:—

A particular friend of mine, a gentleman of distinguished knowledge, science, and philanthropy, and, but a few years past, member of parliament for one of the most opulent counties in Ireland, was arrested for another person in the month of July, just as the long vacation commenced, and carried to the Bench. No term commencing till November, he remained in prison near five months. The moment the Court sat he was discharged, when he commenced a prosecution against the person who had so long deprived him of

his liberty: but the prosecution was scarcely begun when the defendant became a pennyless bankrupt, and was himself carried to the Fleet prison. What redress can this gentleman have for the loss of his liberty for five months? He cannot put this man in the pillory for perjury, as the law does not allow it, because it was not wilful: but if he could be pilloried, is it any atonement to him for his sufferings to see this fellow stand for one hour with his head through a hole in a board at Charing-cross? Would it not be more consistent with justice to prevent such cruel proceedings in the first instance? The felon in Newgate, and the prisoner in the Penitentiary-house, Cold-bath-fields, for high crimes and misdemeanors against the State, whatever his sufferings may be in a solitary cell, has one comfort—he knows not the pangs of

hunger: but the gentleman, the citizen, the sailor, and the soldier, who may have bled in their country's defence, oppressed by sinful poverty, the worst of crimes, is allowed only sixpence per day for all his wants, and has not even a bed or fire found him to rest his wearied limbs or warm his half-starved frame.

When any one surrenders to the King's Bench, and has a command of money, he can procure a room by paying his chum, or chamber companion, out, as it is called; that is, by giving some poor man a weekly sum to let him have the room to himself, to the mutual convenience of both: as the latter, for the sake of geting a stipend to purchase food, will be content to get a lodging where he can find it at a cheap rate, by sleeping ten or twelve in a small room; or without any

expence at all, by preferring a soft plank in the tap-room, or a smooth stone on a stair-case.

We who live in a land of liberty, who boast of the justice and lenity of our laws, who profess Christianity, can we, without remorse of conscience, reflect on the miseries the oppressed debtor suffers? Can we pretend to possess any feeling and any religion or humanity, and with indifference view one part of our fellow-creatures persecuted and half-starved by unfeeling, remorseless creditors? I positively assert, fearless of contradiction, that many prisoners in the King's Bench have been half-starved, and have contracted disorders, from lack of sustenance, of which they have died.

The law against debtors, and their suf-

ferings in prison, cry aloud to Heaven and the Legislature for redress. I will frankly acknowledge it to be my individual opinion, that no person, in a country of liberty, should be confined for debt, who gives up his whole property to his creditors. But the law having decreed it otherwise, and lawyers fattening, as they do, on the fruits of it, I must leave it to the future operations of justice and of mercy. But why am I, because I am unfortunately born a gentleman, liable to be deprived of my liberty throughout my life, for the small sum of ten pounds; which is a possible case, when, from the rich merchant to the inferior trader who keeps a green-stall, provided four-fifths of his creditors consent, can procure his certificate of bankruptcy, without the risk of imprisonment: while a gentleman, if he owes ten thousand pounds, and can

pay only nine thousand nine hundred and ninety pounds, may, by one obdurate creditor, be confined all his life, as an act of grace has not for many years involved so large a sum. Would it not be just, at least, to put the gentleman and the soldier on the same footing with a vender of cabbages, or a cabbaging tailor?

Many officers have been, and some now are, confined in prison, who have offered their creditors a part in money, and good security for the remainder at a distant period: but they have been deaf to all terms, imagining that they have rich relations or friends, who will come forward and satisfy the whole at once. They know little of human nature: nor does any man thoroughly know either his relations or his friends until he has once been in prison. But I repeat my opi-

nion, that, in a free country, there should be no confinement of the person for debt; yet I would have it made felony for any person to secrete one shilling of his property. It is said, that, were there no law to confine a debtor's person, our trade and commerce would suffer. It is no such thing. There is no law in Scotland to confine a debtor who gives up his property; and has the trade of Edinburgh and of Glasgow decreased? I will not confine my argument to this country. Look to Holland, a country where the true interests of trade and commerce are as well understood as in England. There is no law there to imprison a debtor; yet Holland had arrived at its wealth and grandeur by trade alone.

It must be allowed by every candid person, that these arguments, in favour of

the personal liberty of the subject of this country, are very forcible; but yet I fear there is a stronger reason against it, as a considerable part of the expence incurred to the debtor before he is imprisoned, and the processes carried on to bring the actions against him to a judgment, from the stamps and fees, &c. &c. form a considerable part of the revenue to Government, which, until a substitute is found, it may not be judged prudent to annihilate; but, with my lack of brains, I would undertake to find one before to-morrow morning, that would answer every purpose of finance. Such a measure would also deprive one half of the attornies of their iniquitous bread, moistened with the tears of their miserable victims, which might be considered by some Machiavelian moralists as a crying act of injustice.

Every term prisoners come from the remotest parts of England to surrender to the King's Bench, not from choice, but from compulsion. The process of the law in this respect is unknown to the public. I will state it. If a man is arrested three hundred miles from London, on a judgment, or taken in execution, he is carried to the county jail; but if he is arrested for a simple debt, and some friend bails him, when the time arrives that he must either pay the money or surrender his person to prison, or fix his friend with the debt who bailed him, he cannot surrender to the county jail. Let him be in the most distant part of England, he must travel to London and surrender there, and on foot, if he cannot afford to pay for the conveyance of a coach or a waggon.

One very singular instance I will relate, of a poor old man, between seventy and eighty years of age, who came all the way from Cumberland on foot to surrender, sooner than be so dishonest as to fix his bail. When he came to the door of the King's Bench, he was bare-footed, and holding his shoes and a small bundle of clothes hung across a stick over his shoulder. He shewed the door-keeper a letter from an attorney, stating his case, and at whose suit he came to surrender. The door-keeper told him, according to his duty so to do, that he could not permit him to surrender; for, if he did, without undergoing the proper forms, that though he was locked up there, if the process was not regularly performed, his friend, who had bailed him, would be fixed with the debt. The door-keeper very kindly ordered one of the tipstaves to go over with

him to Chancery-lane, where having paid the customary fees, and walked some hundreds of miles, he then marched over to the King's Bench prison, and was received in proper form within its walls.

Having stated this curious, though a very common process, relative to a debtor surrendering to the King's Bench, I will state a process of the law which takes place after the prisoner has surrendered, of which I had an example in my own affairs, when a prisoner in this place. Amongst the writs to which I surrendered myself there, one of them was in the Court of Common Pleas: the rest were in the Court of King's Bench. Accordingly, on a subsequent day, that honest officer, Mr. Neave, the door-keeper, came into my room, to inform me that a Habeas Corpus was served on me, to remove me to the Fleet

Prison. Although I knew a good deal of the process and expences of the law for debt, having paid some thousands for my knowledge, I was ignorant of this ceremony. I must confess I could not view this process either as humane or just; that being a prisoner, and after having, by the assistance of my friends, made myself a little comfortable in one prison, I should be dragged to another. However, being of Dr. Pangloss's opinion, *que tout est pour le mieux*, though the circumstance was sufficient to make another man doubt of the fitness of things, and that it would be of no benefit to fret and vex myself about it, I asked Mr. Neave how I should act in this case, as, from his situation, he must be well informed of all such processes. He advised me, as the debt was but a small one, to desire my lawyers to settle it; which was done, and I re-

mained where I was. If I had not been able to pay, I should have been taken to the Fleet Prison, there surrendered, and, after paying the fees of that prison, must have taken an Habeas Corpus, to remove myself back to the King's Bench. The whole expence would have been about seven pounds; and if I could not have procured the money, I must have remained in the Fleet. To this case there is something more attached than the expence of bringing myself back by a Habeas Corpus to the Bench. By the kind assistance of my worthy and best friend, Jacob Wilkinson, who was my bondsman to the marshal, I had procured the blessing of a liberty to walk and enjoy the open air within the boundaries of the King's Bench, called the Rules. The expence incurred on the bond to obtain the benefit of the Rules, is ten pounds for the first hundred,

and four pounds for every other hundred of the debt or debts for which you are imprisoned. For instance, if a man is a prisoner for four hundred, he must find good security, and pay twenty-two pounds, and so on in proportion for a larger debt. Had I been carried over to the Fleet, and there remained, I must have forfeited the money I had paid to obtain the liberty of the Rules of the Bench, and been closely confined, if not able to procure money to pay the expences necessary to procure the Rules of the Fleet: and, what is more singular, if there had been seven or eight writs, say any number, (for it makes no difference, in common, whether it be one or one hundred pleas against me,) I should have been dragged there for every one of them, and paid the same expences on each and every writ as on one, if I could; and if I could not, the expences would have

lain against me in the Fleet, and I must have discharged them before I could be liberated from prison, after settling with my creditors.

I shall beg leave to mention another singular fact. If a man surrenders to the Fleet Prison instead of the King's Bench, which is at his option, if he has but one writ against him in the Court of Common Pleas, and one, eight, or eight hundred writs, (it is all the same, though not the same expence,) in the Court of King's Bench, against him, on every writ in the Court of King's Bench he can be removed to the King's Bench Prison from the Fleet. This is *ringing the changes* with a vengeance. It is not sufficient that a prisoner be confined in one prison, but he must like a shuttlecock, be thrown backwards and forwards from one prison to the other,

with the distress of being put to considerable expence, in addition to all that he has already sustained.

A short time before I was discharged from this place, two brothers were brought up from some distant part of the island, and surrendered there. They had been engaged in a law suit, in which they were cast. The person with whom they had been at law was so humane as not to continue the process; but the attorney sent them both to the King's Bench for the costs of the suit, amounting to something above twenty pounds. This case may appear singular to the reader, who fortunately is not informed of the persecution practised on prisoners by attornies: but I will inform them, and if they doubt my assertions, they may apply to the records of the King's Bench

and Fleet Prisons, and they will find there are many hundreds who are confined for the costs of suit to the lawyer, whose original debt did not amount to ten pounds; nay further, there are numbers now in prison for debts originally amounting only to the small sums of four, five, six, or seven pounds. These small debts have been brought to a judgment by the attorney, which attaches the person, the moment the costs, jointly with the debt, amount to above ten pounds, though the debtor is able and willing to pay the original debt. Many have offered to pay even a part of the costs: but, although the original debt did not exceed five or six pounds, they now are fixed in prison for above twenty pounds, owing to the attorney not being willing to relax one shilling of his demand for costs of suit in bringing the debt to an execution.

I will give you an instance, relative to myself, not only of the extravagant expence attending small debts under ten pounds, but of the generosity and integrity of the *honest* tradesman. I built a one-horse chair some years past; the price was, to the best of my recollection, between fifty and sixty pounds. The first day I drove it for two hours, merely to try it, and to have it properly hung: I then left it a few days with the maker, to regulate it; and, before I took it away, I paid one half of the price in money, and gave a bill for the other half at a short date, which was paid. However, I happened to send the chaise back to be screwed up, and to have some trifling alteration made, &c. the expence of which amounted to five pounds six shillings, or six pounds five, I forget which. After owing this trifle for a considerable space

of time, I was served with a copy of a writ: this was but a very few months before I surrendered to the King's Bench prison, amongst a variety of other demands of much greater amount, all of which I paid before that horrid day, the Morrow of All Souls, which is so fatal to many bodies in the first week in November. I had been out of town for above two months, and totally forgot that I had been served with a copy of a writ for so small a sum. In December following, a sheriff's officer met me, who had oftentimes arrested me, and told me he had a warrant against me. I asked him why he did not call at my house in the morning early, that I might have gone out with him and settled it, as it was then near my time of dinner. He gave me a very satisfactory reason why he did not. I asked him the sum it amounted to. "A

small sum, somewhat above twenty," he replied. As it was rather late in the day, and near dinner-time, I desired him to call on me the next morning, and I would settle it. "I would with pleasure, Colonel," said he; "but it is an execution." "That is impossible!" I replied, "for I have not signed any bond or warrant of attorney to any person existing."—"I assure you, Colonel," continued he, "it is an execution. You ought to know the law, and what lawyers can do, for you have paid enough to know it in your life-time."—"I now understand you," I replied; "I suppose it is some small debt under ten pounds, brought to a judgment by the attorney."—"Exactly so." To cut this matter very short, I went to my friend Mr. Wright in Carey-street, and surrendered to him. My agent very kindly brought me the money to dis-

charge the debt and *costs*, which amounted to above twenty-four pounds. Now, if I had not been able to pay it, I must have surrendered to the King's Bench or Fleet, and there I might have lain until I had rotted, unless I had paid the twenty-four pounds; for I have no reason to believe that the attorney employed against me would have deviated from the line adopted by his brethren, and have shewn me any very distinguished favour.

I may here, I think, as well as in any other page of this volume, inform the world, that when I was making an arrangement with my creditors, and they had agreed to take a part in money, and a security in future for the remainder, the particulars of which I have stated in another part of this Work, there was but *one* attorney, out of the many employed

against me, that would relax one shilling of their costs. Although their clients were satisfied with a part, they would be paid their whole demand; and some of the costs to the attornies amounted to very near as much as the original debt owing to their clients. But this is in the ordinary way of the detestable profession which they follow. But, notwithstanding all the injuries they have done me, and are continually doing mankind, I will prove my Christian charity by presenting them with their portrait from the sacred writings—"Ye are of your father the devil; and the works of your father ye will do." Filial piety, perhaps, may be their only virtue.

I desire it may be well understood, that I do not mean, in any sense whatever, to apply this conduct to the higher orders of

attornies and solicitors, who would disdain to engage in low and base traffic; though not one of them is without one of these low fellows in his service to do the dirty work which they must not appear to do for themselves. Whatever they may do in the higher course of business, they disdain the common jog-trot of writ, declaration and judgment; nor are they linked with the pawn-broker, silversmith, ironmonger, &c. &c. who discount gentlemen's bills, giving a part in money and the rest in goods, with four, five, or six names indorsed on the back of the bill, and who purchase such bills from these extortioners, in the hope that the person who drew them will not be punctual at the day the bill is due, so that he may bring his action against the drawer of the bill, and make him pay costs for every separate name indorsed on the back of it.

I shall now proceed to relate an example of extortion which I know to be correctly true. A lady in the habit of doing bills in the manner I have related, issued a bill for eighty, ninety, or an hundred pounds, I forget which sum: this bill, after passing through eight persons' hands, of course had as many indorsements, and was purchased by one of these miscreants. When the bill became due she could not immediately pay it, and he of course issued a writ against her: her lawyer undertook, put in bail for her, and defended the action. When she came forward to pay the money, this honest man charged her *eight costs.*

This worthy member of society, who lived in the Temple, is now dead, and gone to the devil. There being a special cause to be tried in the infernal regions,

his infernal majesty could spare him no longer; but, in return for services performed, he has made him his attorney-general *. On her paying the wretch his demand, she then informed him that she would prosecute him for an usurious transaction, and make him pay about fifteen hundred pounds, which would be the penalty of it, in return for his generous and liberal conduct to her. But the Devil, who has so greatly promoted him in the other world, used to stand his friend while he was in this; and he helped him out of the scrape in the following manner:—

This lady had a whimsical propensity now and then, when in want of cash, to

* The attorney-general, in former times, was called *Diabolus Regis*, or the King's Bull Dog. Vide a book intitled "The Mirror of Magistrates."

borrow some creditable person's name, in a way which is commonly called forging; and a bill of hers was at this time in circulation, which this attorney had got into his possession, with a distinguished nobleman's name to it, which she, in her free way, had written with her own fair hand. He accordingly took an early opportunity to inform her, that a bill had been offered to him for negociation, drawn by her, and accepted by a nobleman, for which, before he gave cash, as persons of high rank were not, like their inferiors, always punctual at the day of payment, he requested to know if she had any objection to his calling on him to ascertain that circumstance. The lady replied, that the bill would certainly be paid on the day it was due; and that it would be very intruding in him to trouble the nobleman with a visit on any such

subject. At length, however, our hero in infamy began to speak a little plainer than he had hitherto done, and frankly told her that the bill was in his possession, and that he knew she had forged that nobleman's name. She then threw herself on his mercy, and he generously spared her life on her engaging not to commence a prosecution against him for his former infamous conduct. I am not certain whether I am right or not as to the law in such a case; but I am inclined to believe that this honourable and humane attorney was guilty of compounding felony; but if he was, it is not to be wondered at, as it was in the way of his business.

As to myself, I cannot charge my memory with ever having paid more than four costs on one bill of exchange, which

has fallen into the hands of such honourable practitioners of the law; which, by the by, is tolerably reasonable. These particulars are related in another part of this Work; I shall therefore proceed to the misfortunes, hardships, and prosecutions to which prisoners are subject, from unfeeling creditors, and their harpies ycleped attornies, when doomed to this prison. To proceed—An acquaintance of mine was committed to the King's Bench, in the year 1794, for two debts, amounting to upwards of an hundred pounds, when he gave up all his property, which was then in Chancery, and took the benefit of an Act of Insolvency. In the year following he was imprisoned again, for a debt of no more than twenty-two pounds; when he applied for his sixpences, and was denied them, on account of his having taken the

benefit of a former act for the debt already mentioned, and would have starved, had not a subscription been made for him by his friends, although he had property coming to him which waited the decision of Chancery.

Since that period I have had nothing further to observe: it may, however, be remarked, that when a prisoner sues for his sixpences, he must swear that he is not worth five pounds, (I believe the oath is now extended to ten;) I will not positively assert the actual expence the prisoner must pay to obtain three shillings and sixpence per week, for sometimes their friends do it gratuitously; but where it is paid for, as in many instances, the following charges are near the mark:

	£.	s.	d.
For moving the Court —	0	10	6
To the attorney, for attending at the King's Bench —	0	6	8
For attendance at Weſtminster Hall — —	0	6	8
	£. 1	3	10

But these are not all the expences of this process. He cannot appear at Westminster Hall unless in the custody of a tipstaff belonging to the King's Bench, who must also be paid for his trouble: then he cannot put his nose out of the prison without paying for a *day rule*, the price of which, I believe, is the same to him, or to any prisoner who has taken the benefit of the Rules, and wishes to go to town to transact business, that is four shillings. I do not pledge myself, in this one instance, to the correctness of the charge, but, I believe, the

fee to the tipstaff is ten shillings; thus thirteen shillings are added to one pound three, already incurred.

If it were not for the sufferings of the prisoner, this process, which a man must undergo to obtain three shillings and sixpence per week to keep him from starving, is so absurd and ridiculous that it would be worthy of laughter; for, that a prisoner should pay one single shilling to obtain the scanty pittance from his creditor of three shillings and sixpence per week,. is truly ludicrous. Although it is not in my nature to sport with the feelings and sufferings of the oppressed, yet I am at liberty to laugh heartily at a process of law, I mean, (reader, do not misconstrue my words,) the *law of attornies* relative to the charges they have made to their clients, at whose suit a prisoner is

confined. Every Monday evening, before the clock strikes nine, three shillings and sixpence must be deposited in the hands of the door-keeper for the use of the prisoner; in which payment if the creditor or his attorney is deficient, the action is supersedable, and the prisoner is discharged. Now, I do assert positively, that many attornies have charged their clients three shillings and four-pence, or six shillings and eight-pence, for sending their clerk, or going once to the Bench themselves, to pay the three shillings and sixpence. This, reader, you will readily believe, when you know that these gentlemen will not take a walk over to the King's Bench, or work in any shape, for nothing. So the creditor pays his attorney either three shillings and four-pence, or six shillings and eight-pence, in addi-

tion to the three shillings and sixpence. The whole transaction is scandalous, and requires immediate redress. It may appear singular to the reader, but I assert, that, at this very moment, there are many persons lying in prison, whose original debt to the creditor did not amount to above three, four, five, or six pounds, whose debts now, from costs to the attornies, do exceed twenty and thirty pounds. I myself have paid for a debt of four pounds thirteen shillings, and for one of six pounds sixteen shillings, and two or three times for a debt under ten pounds— I say, that I have paid ten, twelve, or fourteen pounds costs. Many prisoners are able, and have offered to pay their original debt, but cannot pay costs to the attorney; they therefore remain in confinement, where they might pass their

lives, if an occasional act of insolvency did not relieve them.

I know also, that many creditors have been very willing to take the original debt, and have been desirous of liberating the debtor: but a creditor cannot release the prisoner; for, if he grants the prisoner a discharge, the attorney fixes him with the costs of the debtor: so the creditor must pay the attorney twenty or thirty pounds costs for doing nothing more than what he ought to do, namely, for discharging his debtor, on his paying the original sum he was indebted to him.

I must now apologize to the reader for breaking off so suddenly, and not describing various other miseries and oppressions to which the unfortunate debtor in this prison is subjected, much to the discredit

of a country which boasts so proudly of its liberty; but I promise faithfully, in a third volume, which I shortly intend to publish, to give various interesting cases of distress and oppression, not only in the King's Bench and the Fleet, but also in that Court, so well known by the name, style and title of the Marshalsea.

At present I have neither time or place sufficient in these volumes: I shall therefore conclude, for the present, with two or three interesting stories relative to the conduct of attornies, how they obtain bills of exchange, for what reasons they take them, and what cost they charge on them; together with a few particulars relative to prisoners confined for debts under ten pounds.

Reader, mark well what I am now go-

ing to relate, and seriously reflect, whether, in a Christian country, and in a land of liberty, it is fit that any individual should be subject to such dire persecution. It is not possible for me at present to speak with certainty to the fact, not having as yet obtained an account of the number of prisoners who are confined in the various prisons in London for debts under ten pounds: But I call God to witness, that, from the conversations I have held with various prisoners in the King's Bench, (in the Fleet it is exactly the same,) and the information I have acquired on the subject, I truly believe that I speak much within the compass, when I with horror inform you, that above one half of the prisoners in the King's Bench and the Fleet, (aye, and in most of the other jails in England,) could be liberated, and would be liberated, to-morrow,

were it not for the costs that must be paid to the attorney before they can be discharged.

I shall now relate one instance in which I myself suffered very materially. Many years ago I kept horses at the livery-stables of my old friend Mr. Fozard. I had for some time given over keeping horses, and had settled all accounts with him for many months, when a man called on me, and told me that I owed him four pounds some shillings, for the keeping of a horse at grass some distance from London. I told him that I knew nothing of the matter; that I never had put any horse to grass with him; and that I did not even know the place where he lived, which I literally believed was the fact. In about three days after, I was served with a copy of a writ. I then began to

reflect, and did recollect, that Fozard had put a horse one winter into a straw-yard for me; but, having settled my account with him, I of course concluded that I had paid that expence with the rest. I accordingly went to his stables and examined the books, when I found that he had not made such a charge, and of course that I owed it. I was served with the copy of a writ on a Friday evening, and on Monday morning quitted town for the neighbourhood of Ascott-heath, preparatory to the races. I was so incautious as not to look at the date of the writ, to see when it was returnable; nor did I send it to my lawyer, thinking that a week would make but little difference, as I should be in town the following Saturday. The writ, however, was made returnable in three days, and a fresh term commenced in four days. Thus the lawyer had the

start of me by two terms in one week, which enabled him to make such rapid progress in his expences. On the Saturday afternoon, only eight days from the time I was served with the copy of a writ, I went to his house to pay the debt; and judging that I should not have above twenty shillings to pay for the expences at first incurred, was surprised, when his clerk made the account out, to find that the four pounds were, in eight days, accumulated, by the attorney's costs, to eleven or thirteen pounds, I really forget which; but either of them is sufficient for my purpose. On my expostulations relative to the exorbitant charges produced in so short a time, the clerk informed me, that another term had commenced since the issuing of the writ, and consoled me by the assurance, that it was very fortunate I happened to call

that day, as, from my having neglected to plead through my attorney to the writ, judgment would have been entered up against me on the Monday morning following, which would have been three pounds more, and that then I should have been taken in execution. I now began to understand the affair, that it was very regularly carried on, was very legal, very moderate, and very just; and nought was left for me but to pay the whole sum, acknowledge the equity of the process, and content myself with having had the good fortune to call that day, the moment I came to town, by which I saved the additional charge of three pounds. This all took place in eight days. I had, indeed, seen, during my absence at Ascott-heath, some tolerable good raceing; but this attorney, it must

be allowed by all sportsmen, beat every thing for speed.

I will trouble the reader with but one case more relative to exorbitant costs on debts for small sums, although I could mention several others which I have paid within the six or seven last years of my life.

Before I surrendered as a prisoner to the King's Bench, I gave a bill to a tradesman, not for any debt contracted by me, but for a lady of my acquaintance. This bill was kept back by a lawyer, into whose hands it fell; and, not being a debt of my own, it escaped my notice. After I was liberated, it was demanded of me; but, as I could not pay it, I was arrested, and compelled, from actual

necessity, to bail it, and defend it for some time, till I was able to pay it, when I gave my attorney a sum of money to discharge that bill, and some other matters I had to settle; but not having sufficient money given him, he left six pounds unpaid, and informed me of his so doing. The lawyer was perfectly satisfied, and assured him that he would put me to no trouble for the remaining trifle, and that I might pay it when convenient. My lawyer, however, went out of town for two months on business, in which time this gentleman carried on the process against me; and, having brought it to an execution, fixed me in judgment for sixteen pounds sixteen shillings. It is necessary to remark, that the original bill was only pounds, the costs pounds, of which he was paid all but six; and this six pounds he increased,

by additional costs, to sixteen pounds sixteen shillings and sixpence, which, together with what he was paid before, brought the original debt of twenty-six pounds to no less a sum than

In addition to this, the customary expences attending on a judgment, such as sheriffs poundage, caption fee, one guinea, searching the office, and some small perquisite to the house of the officer I went to, amounted to above two pounds ore. Thus I paid, for a twenty-six pound debt, no less a sum than

This is law, aye, and very sound, legal, and excellent law too, and what is practised *every day in the year,* to the emolument of the attorney, and ruin of the debtor, who, when it is a distressing

circumstance to him to pay six pounds, is compelled to pay sixteen or be sent to jail, and there to lay until he rots, or can pay the costs to the attorney as well as the principal debt.

The reader will please to observe, that I paid sixteen pounds sixteen shillings to the attorney for his costs on the remaining six pounds which were left unpaid on an original debt of twenty-six pounds, on which he had already received

costs.

Before I take my leave of this wretched subject, I cannot refrain from relating a history of an attorney into whose hands a bill fell belonging to a very particular friend of mine; but, first, I shall state the motives which induce attornies to pur-

chase bills of exchange.—When money is scarce, and a gentleman wants a little cash, and cannot get his bill discounted at his banker's, having overdrawn his account considerably; or, as many are situated who have no banker at all; he goes to some advertising money-broker, and gives him a bill, we will say for an hundred pounds, to get discounted: the money-broker goes to some pawn-broker, woollen-draper, ironmonger, or some other tradesman who is in the habit of discounting bills, and giving part in money and part in goods. Of the particular losses that gentlemen suffer by taking half goods and half cash, which is the general custom, I have mentioned in another part of this book; I shall, therefore, only relate how this bill is put into circulation.

The tradesman pays this bill away to some other tradesman who is accustomed to the same traffic in bills, and puts his name on it, the broker having indorsed it before for a very good reason, because his name, being on the back of the bill, prevents him being called as a witness on a *qui tam* action for usury. The second tradesman, who now holds the bill, indorses it also. Now, there is the name of the drawer of the bill, the broker's name, and the two tradesmen's names, on the bill; these make four names. The last-mentioned tradesman, being in want of cash, goes to some attorney who is in the constant habits of purchasing such bills: when he comes to the attorney and shews him the bill, telling him he wants money for it, the attorney *never* examines the *face* of the bill, but looks directly on

the back of it, to see how many names are there indorsed. If there are three names, it is a matter worthy of his attention; if four, it is excellent, that making five names with the drawer's. At first he pleads poverty; but at last tells him that the drawer of the bill is not a punctual man in payment of bills, and that most likely he shall have some time to wait for his money; in short, that he cannot give him above ninety pounds for the hundred pound bill. This the tradesman very readily takes, he having, by the bad quality of the goods he sold, if he was the first discounter, made already from thirty to forty *per cent.* or has purchased it at an inferior price of the former tradesman; but, in general, these men, who give large quantities of goods, and but a small part in cash, are many of them connected intimately together, and

mutually pass each other's bills backwards and forwards, with mutual indorsements. But, to return to the attorney: when the bill is due, if not paid at the day, a process is commenced, and a writ civilly issued for form's sake; for these polite attornies are too well bred to arrest the drawer of the bill in the street; but inform him, in a very civil letter, that he is sorry he cannot give time on the bill, being directed by his client to inforce payment, (the client, observe, reader, is no other than his own dear self,) therefore respectfully requests that you will favour him with the name of your solicitor, that he may undertake for you to put in bail, as it is far from his intent to serve you publicly with an arrest.—You have now to thank him for his polite method of doing business, and send him the name of your solicitor. Bail is shortly

put in; and if it is not in your power to pay it in a term, bail above must be put in, and bail must be justified; and, when you take the bail up, you must pay four costs exclusive of your own; and there is no means of avoiding these four *extra* costs, unless you let *judgment go by default*, which if you do, you must be prepared with the money to pay the principal sum of the bill and your own *single* costs, or your person is taken in execution, which is the *ne plus ultra* of the law, and your body may be committed to Newgate. If you defend the action by various ingenious methods, such as *sham plea*, *writ of error*, and some other very clever inventions, you may postpone the payment of the bill for many months; but, at the final arrangement, when neither sham nor fudge can avail any longer, then you must be

contented to pay four costs exclusive of your own; which, indeed, is tolerably moderate, as I have given you one instance in the foregoing pages, in which an attorney made a lady pay eight or nine costs, and every one of them were *special originals,* and each ten pounds expence; but he was a jewel of an attorney, and as transcendant in real honour as a brilliant is to a rose diamond, to the rest of his fraternity.

You now see, reader, how great an object it is to an attorney, who buys a bill of a tradesman, to have four or five names indorsed on the back of it, otherwise it is not worth his having; nor does he think it worth negociating, if there is a probability that the drawer will punctually pay it at the day when it is due: the attorney, after all, runs no risk, even if the drawer of

the bill should run away, for he can come upon the indorsers.

But, to come to the story, which is not without amusement:—A friend of mine, who was not always, as well as myself and many others, rigidly punctual in taking up his bills at the hour when due, discounted a bill in the preceding manner: there were four or five names on the back of the bill, which made it very eligible: an attorney readily purchased this bill. The morning when due, it was presented at his house with the accustomary notice left in writing:—"*Your bill for* 100*l. lies due at Messrs.* ——, *bankers**. *Please to call this day between the hours of three and five.*"—My friend, that day, a happy

* Oftentimes the attorney announces that the bill lies for payment at his house or chambers.

day for him, but a day of disappointment to the attorney, was, per chance, more in cash than usual, and sent his servant with the money, between three and five o'clock, to take up the bill; which he did, and brought it to his master cancelled.

A few weeks after, the same tradesman, who sold this bill drawn on my friend to the attorney, called again on him with another bill drawn on the same gentleman, asking him to discount it. The moment he saw on whom the bill was drawn, he threw it with indignation on the floor, saying, "I am astonished, Sir, at your offering me such a bill; I will have nothing to do with that gentleman's bills, for the last, which I gave you money for, to oblige you, *was paid the day it was presented.*"—The tradesman, much to his mortification, was obliged

to depart without getting cash for his bill, and had the trouble to seek for some other attorney who *dealt in bills*, to whom the unusual punctuality of my friend was not yet known.

Reader, I trust this story has given you some pleasure; and I assure you, on my word, it is a fact. For the veracity of the following interesting account of a distinguished junto in this town, I cannot be altogether so responsible; but, on my honour, I have heard it from good authority, and I believe the general outline of their transactions to be true.

A few years past there existed in this town a truly philanthropic money-lending society: it consisted of about five or six reputable tradesmen, two attornies, and one bailiff. I have had the honour

of knowing them all personally; and with the three latter, the two attornies and the bailiff, I have been on a very familiar footing, and through them have experienced the philanthropy of the society to the amount of many and many hundreds of pounds. This distinguished society (pardon the vulgarity of the expression!) all *rowed in one boat*, passing bills from one to the other to multiply the names on the back of the bills, till at last they were placed in one of the attornies hands, by whom they were ultimately consigned to the care and attention of the bailiff. I have been informed that they even shared in the perquisites of the bailiff: but I do not believe it, because his fees are so trifling that it would not be sound policy in these able financiers to partake of so small a part of the profits, and let the bailiff share with them

in the greater. In my opinion he could not have had any share in the profits, excepting the expence of the arrest and those incurred in his house, unless he placed money to the general account: in this manner he might pull an oar in the boat also. This amiable society is totally broken up and dispersed, by the devil having wanted one of the attornies to transact special business in the infernal courts, and by the other respectful limb of the law having retired, *otio cum dignitate,* into the country on an handsome fortune, acquired by costs upon bills of exchange, and costs charged to distress debtors, there to await the call of his infernal majesty; for two such able men he will not admit at the same time in his dominions. The devil even dreads their power, and stands in awe of their unparalleled skill and abilities.

For the present I shall say no more relative to the King's Bench, or of attornies, but promise the reader to give him, in a *Third Volume*, which will be soon published, a more minute account of that prison, and a complete investigation of the conduct of attornies to debtors, with other circumstances relative to the police of the King's Bench.

CHAPTER V.

Interesting Particulars relative to Col. George Hanger *when in America; being a Continuation of his Life and Adventures.*

In about three months after I was appointed a captain in the Hessian Yager corps; and in the middle of the ensuing month of March, I sailed from Portsmouth for America.—Reader, be not alarmed! I am not going to fight over again the American war; it is as much forgotten as the Trojan war, and the recital of the one would be full as interesting to the public as the other. It is, however, my intention to relate some incidents relative to myself, which, in the history of my life, are necessary to be mentioned.

I had not been arrived above two months in America, when I received a letter from my mother, (the best and kindest of parents,) informing me that Mr. Wyatt, soon after my departure, and before he could parcel out my estate, had been seized with a paralytic stroke, which, she was fearful, would shortly prove fatal to him. She informed me at the same time, that the mortgagee was endeavouring to foreclose the mortgage on my estate, and to sell it. She also sent me a fresh power of attorney for me to execute, to empower her, and some friend jointly with her, to transact my affairs, as she was fearful my worthy friend Mr. Wyatt would never be well enough to act for me. This fresh power of attorney I forwarded by the first packet to England, to my mother. In the mean time, my worthy friend Wyatt, recovering a little

from the effects of the paralytic stroke, neglected not, the moment he was able to go down to my estate, to arrange every thing for sale; but a second visitation of his disease put an end to his valuable life.

During the interval between his death and the arrival of the fresh powers of attorney from America, for my mother and her friend to act for me, which, in passing and repassing, took up some months, the mortgagee foreclosed the mortgage; and all that my mother could do was in vain, for my estate was sold before a Master in Chancery, at public auction, for little more than half its real value.

The reader will be pleased to remark, that the very circumstance which rendered me happy and satisfied on my leav-

ing England, by having placed my affairs in so worthy and able a friend's hands, proved my ruin, from my want of caution in not putting the name of some other person jointly in the power of attorney I gave to Mr. Wyatt: had I so done, as I have been informed, from the best authority, it would not have been practicable to have foreclosed the mortgage; but I never dreamed of Mr. Wyatt being struck with a fit of apoplexy; for he was a hale, hearty man, and by no means advanced in years, though he was of a corpulent habit. Some months afterwards, the common process of law having taken its course, my estate was sold, as I have already mentioned.

It is also necessary to relate, that, in the intermediate time, and previous to the sale, war with France and Spain was de-

clared, in addition to that wherein we were engaged with America, which was the occasion of land falling above one-third in value. In short, my estate was sold for sixteen thousand and some few hundred pounds; though, if I could have kept it till the peace, it would have fetched between twenty and thirty thousand.

In addition to this piece of good news, my kind mother informed me, that some outstanding debts, amounting to several hundred pounds, remained unpaid, notwithstanding the security Mr. Wyatt had given for me; and that executions had been introduced into my house, after his death, from the great deficiency of the sale of the estate. Thus I at once found myself several hundreds worse than nothing, instead of not owing a shilling, and having

eight or ten thousand pounds in hand, as Mr. Wyatt assured me, and which he certainly would have accomplished, had not the French war broke out, or a legal compulsion forced me to sell my estate during that period.

I now, indeed, and in truth, became a soldier of fortune, for I was stripped and plundered of every thing, and, which was worse, left encumbered with debts.

After serving the first campaign in the Hessian Yagers, my old and worthy friend, Sir Henry Clinton, requested the Commander in Chief of the Hessian troops to give me, in addition to my Yager company, the command of two hundred men selected from the Hessian regiments, which he was so kind as to comply with; and, in addition to that re-

quest, he permitted a certain number of men from every Hessian regiment to turn out volunteers. As soldiers, who have been confined to the regular duty of a battalion in the line, are ever desirous of serving with light troops at the out-post, it may be easily imagined that these men were the *eliti* of the Hessian infantry. This favour was much approved of by my commanding officer, Colonel De Wurmbe, as it not only increased his command, but strengthened it by the addition of a body of men with bayonets, who might by night be employed to greater effect than the Yagers, who had no bayonets, and were armed only with rifle-guns. A further and most singular favour was granted me on this occasion. If any man behaved ill, or of whose conduct I disapproved, I was permitted to send him back to the regiment to which

he belonged, and to have another sent to replace him. This was productive of such good order, that, during three campaigns, I never was under the disagreeable necessity of punishing any one of them, further than by a few days' confinement.— With the additional command to my Yager company I continued to serve until the great expedition to the southward was undertaken by Sir Henry Clinton, to accomplish the reduction of North and South Carolina, of which I shall make mention in proper time; but, prior to that, I must advert to incidents in which I was personally and most materially concerned.

Shortly after the arrival of Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnson, at New York, they published a proclamation, in the name of the King, addressed

to his Majesty's revolted subjects, and the different United States. It was judged proper, for form's sake, that the Commander in Chief should forward this proclamation by land, from the out-posts of the army, to Congress; and that the Admiral should dispatch a vessel with the same to Philadelphia. This proclamation was sent to the out-post of the Yager corps, to my commanding officer, Col. De Wurmbe, with orders to him to forward them by a flag of truce to the most contiguous advanced post of the American army.

I was the only Englishman in that corps: my friend Col. De Wurmbe, therefore, requested me as a favour (it not being my turn for duty) to go out with these proclamations, and assigned as his reason for desiring me to undertake

this business, that, as the other officers did not understand the English language, some mistake might take place from their not being able to explain matters, and converse with the American officers. Col. De Wurmbe certainly could have commanded me on this service; but to comply with a request, or even a hint from him, was but a small tribute of gratitude for me to pay to so good and amiable a man, as well as so kind a friend. It was, therefore, with the greater pleasure that I undertook this duty; but not without foreseeing the disagreeable consequences attendant on it, by which I might have lost my life, and in the most unpleasant manner for a soldier and a gentleman.

I was perfectly aware of the temper of the Americans at that period, elated as

they were by the succours which *their great and good ally* had already sent, and promised still to send them *. A French fleet being off the coast, some French troops having been already landed and marching to join General Washington's army, and others coming from the West Indies, it was most natural to imagine that they would reject all proposals from the British Government, not only with scorn, but contempt. I, therefore, told Colonel De Wurmbe, on my taking leave, that I would endeavour to stay as short a time at the American out-post as possible, merely to demand a receipt, and push back with all expedition; for I was confident, if I remained a sufficient time for them to deliberate, that I should be

* Count D'Estaign had blocked up New York harbour for some time, and was then gone for Rhode Island.

stopped and made a prisoner. The event proved the truth of my conjectures.

I must here observe, that the trumpeter and mounted Yager that went with me, carried several hundred printed copies of this proclamation for me to distribute, as I went along, at the country-men's houses, and in the towns through which I passed. In Ferry-town, situated fourteen miles from our out-posts, I distributed some hundreds. About three or four miles farther, beyond Ferry-town, I fell in with a patrole of light dragoons, who carried me to their officer at a house close by, who commanded about fifty men. I gave him thirteen packets, one addressed to every State, and one to General Washington. On reading a printed copy, he told me he did not know whether it was proper for him to receive such

papers, and that it was necessary for him to send to know the commands of General Scott on that subject, who lay at the distance of about four miles. I told him I was commanded to leave them at the first American out-post that I should fall in with: and, with an air of *non-chalance*, I added, that, if he did not choose to receive them, I should leave them with the landlord of the house: but that it was but common politeness from one officer to another, to give me an acknowledgment under his hand that I had left them at the house, merely to shew my commanding officer that I had done my duty, as I might otherwise be very severely reprimanded on my return to the British army, and perhaps put under arrest. In short, after a good deal of persuasion, and telling him that the proclamation, whatever it contained, was

nothing to him or to me, as it came from the British Commissioners, and that certainly I should, in a similar case, not hesitate one moment in giving him a receipt; I procured a receipt from him, and, taking a polite leave of him, rode off for our army with no small degree of speed and pleasure. A few minutes after, he dispatched an officer with the proclamations to General Scott, but not before I had given every soldier who came round me one of them.

On my return through Ferry-town, there were above two hundred persons collected together, and I was under some apprehensions that they would have stopped me, as a few armed militia amongst them said they knew not what business I had to deliver printed papers inviting the citizens of America to desert the Congress.

I told them that I was under the sanction of a flag of truce, and had done nothing but what the inhabitants requested. The populace were nearly all in favour of me, and requested me to continue my distribution of the papers, which I did; and absolutely went so far, at their request, as to read one to the people as I sat on my horse; and nailed one up against the public house before I departed. I knew very well, from the distance General Scott was, that I could not be easily overtaken, and that I had near an hour to spare. I then made the best of my way home, and met with a strong patrole of our corps within two miles of the town, when I returned, without further interruption, to the camp.

This very day the Admiral sent Lieu-

tenant Heele in a cutter to Philadelphia with counterparts of the same packets which I had carried out. The moment he cast anchor in the river Delaware, the lieutenant and his whole crew were made prisoners; and Lieutenant Heele remained above a year in Philadelphia jail; and I should have been sent there also, and have kept him company, had I waited to receive General Scott's commands; who, in a very few days afterwards, as I learned from the communication we held at the out-posts, had sent orders to detain me; but fortunately the bird was flown.

I should never have thought of mentioning the following circumstance, had not my character, both as an officer and a gentleman, been most grossly aspersed by the infamous Philadelphia and Connecti-

cut Journals on that subject. The following is a correct statement of the whole business—So help me God!

The Commander in Chief, after having given orders to General Prescot to evacuate Rhode-Island, destroy the works, and repair with the troops to New York, was induced, a few days after he had sent those instructions, from certain events that took place, to countermand these orders, and sent me to Rhode-Island for that purpose, giving me instructions to examine two particular works; and, if I found them not destroyed, or capable, by a few days' labour, of being put in their former state, General Prescot was by no means to evacuate the island. I sailed in the Delaware frigate, Captain Mason; and although it is not above an hundred and eighty miles from Sandy Hook, I was

seven days on my passage, being forced to work up close under Long-Island, in the very teeth of the wind, as it blew very fresh throughout the whole course of it.

On the seventh day, in the evening, just at dusk, the frigate cast anchor about one mile and an half from the island, off the mouth of the harbour. On our approach, there were two small armed sloops working out of the harbour; but, on seeing the frigate, they immediately put back. This gave us strong suspicions that they were enemies, and that the island was evacuated; but, as there were small rivers and creeks on the opposite shore of Connecticut, it was possible that they might come from thence, and not from Rhode Island. I consulted with my friend, Captain Mason, on the

occasion, who was clearly of opinion, that, from the length of our passage, we were arrived too late, for that the island was evacuated. I was of the same sentiment: yet, as there was a chance that it might not be so, as, when frigates arrive, they always send their boat in, and the General might not think it necessary to send a boat off from shore till the next morning; I suggested to Captain Mason how very absurd I should appear were I to return to New York, and there find that the troops had not left the island at the time I had arrived; stating to him, at the same time, the magnitude of the business on which I was employed, and that I should never dare to shew my face before Sir Henry Clinton, if I did not do every thing that depended on myself: I was, therefore, anxious to risk any danger in order to investigate the object of

my commission. I accordingly requested him to give me an armed boat, being determined to land in the dark, and gain intelligence.

Captain Mason, in compliance with my earnest solicitation, gave me his ten-oared barge, two marines, a cockswain, and one of his lieutenants; so that we consisted of fifteen persons. I timed it so as to enter the harbour just at the latter end of the flood-tide, so that we might have the tide with us on returning. On my departure from the ship, he told the lieutenant strictly to obey my orders, and do every thing I commanded. At the same time, being sensible of the danger which I encountered, he requested me to act with the utmost prudence and circumspection, for that he would not, for ten thousand guineas, have that boat's crew

lost or taken prisoners, as they had attended on his person, as barge-men, during the whole war. The boat was well armed; every man had a musket and bayonet, with cutlass, pistols, &c. &c. and plenty of ammunition. With oars *muffled*, I approached the harbour in silence, keeping close under the shade thrown on the water by the high craggy rocks on the right; by which, and the darkness of the night, we were so impervious to the view, that a sloop working out of the harbour, absolutely, when she tacked about, was not above one hundred and fifty yards from the boat, and could not perceive us. We lay on our oars till she had completely tacked and stood half way over to the other side, when we proceeded, and brought the boat to shore directly under the High Bluff of Brinton's Point, and not far from the battery. A

boat might have passed us within thirty yards, and not have perceived us. I then landed with the two marines only, who had sailors' blue jackets over their red ones to conceal the red and white uniform, and who were ordered to follow me closely, to proceed when I proceeded, and to lie down flat on the ground when I fell down. We then crawled up the precipice, so as to be able to look just above the summit, and remained some time in that position, to observe and determine how I was to proceed. I heard the sentinels challenge every now and then, and cry "*All is well*;" for they were quite on the alert, having observed a man-of-war anchor off the harbour, as I was afterwards informed. At last a patrole from the nearest picket, which, from the fire, I judged was not above three hundred yards from me, passed me so near that I could dis-

tinctly hear them speak; and I heard two sentinels challenge the patrole, one on my right, the other on my left. I knew, when the patrole was passed, that I had little to fear, and that I could easily, from the darkness of the night, pass between them. I accordingly ran across the road they went down, and, when over in the next field, which was very rough and bushy, I laid the marines down and sat up myself, in order to set the position of our boat by the seven stars in the north, the pointers of which point to the north polar star, which is immoveable. This every officer, especially of light troops, should be well acquainted with: if I had not known it, I might have been easily taken prisoner in wandering along the cliff in search of the boat on my return.

I then looked about for a house from

which I might take some person to gain intelligence, and fixed my eye on two, about a mile distant, as well as I could judge by the lights in them, and quite at a distance from any others. There were several nearer me, but they were too contiguous to the pickets and patroles along the shore, to suit my purpose. With great caution, and always laying down when I heard any thing, I approached them; they were about two hundred yards apart: in the one I saw two lights, in the other only one; I, therefore, made up to the latter, and laying the two marines down among the cabbages in the garden, I stood about ten yards from the door, at the garden gate, and halloed out—"Holla! house!" when an old woman came to the door, and asked what I wanted, and who I was? I replied, "I am an officer come from town, and am ordered

over to Connecticut* by the General, on business. I have lost my way in the dark, and want to be put into the path† to Brinton's Point: pray send some one to the end of the garden to put me into it." She replied, "One of our family is gone to town, and the other is gone to bed; but if he is not undressed, I will send him to shew you." I had previously determined with my two faithful marines, if I could not entice any one person out of the house, to enter it and take some one away by force; but I dreaded the consequences, knowing that if resistance was made, we should be obliged to shed blood in our own defence. My stratagem succeeded completely: out came a

* The name of the opposite shore from Rhode-Island.

† This is the cant term the New England people have for all roads: whether little or great, they call them all paths.

fine young fellow, as straight and as tall as a poplar tree. The moment I saw him on the steps, I said, "Come along, my good man, just put me into the path to Brinton's Point, and I will give you a dollar."

I retired a few yards from the garden gate, which he passed; and when at a sufficient distance from the house, I took him fast by the coat, and, putting my pistol to his head, told him to look behind him at the two marines, who had their bayonets pointed within two feet of his body. I then charged him not to speak, pledged my honour to him that I would not hurt him; but if he uttered a word, should he hear any soldiers passing, he would be killed, and we must endeavour through the darkness of the night to make our escape. I took him

into a rough place close by, and made him sit down by us. I then told him I was a British officer, not an American, and was landed from the frigate, that lay off the harbour, to gain intelligence. I now gave him a half johannes, and repeated my assurance that I would treat him well; but that he must come along with me. His fears at length subsided, and he told me that the day before I arrived the British had evacuated the island, and that an American force of three thousand men now occupied it.

The marines judging with me that the tide of ebb had made, and that the moon would rise in about an hour, we proceeded to the boat, walking alongside of this man, with my hand fast in his right hand jacket pocket: for I knew too well to trust to a New Englandman's promises;

had he got a yard start of us, he would have alarmed the whole country.

When I had proceeded within about four hundred yards of the rock from whence I landed, I had the same road to cross again on which I had seen the patrole pass. As we lay down on one side of it, waiting for the passing of a patrole, that I might hear where the sentinels were, my guide endeavoured to betray me, telling me there was no danger if I went up the path: I knew better, and now no longer trusted him; but put it out of his power to do any mischief, by taking my pocket handkerchief and stuffing the greatest part of it into his mouth, that he should not vociferate. At the same time I made one of the marines hold him fast by the left hand, whilst I held him as fast by the right.

When the patrole had passed, we crossed the path, and, on arriving at the brink of the precipice, I had, by keeping my eyes constantly on the north stars, set the boat with such precision that when I holla'd, "*Mason, a-hoy!*" I was answered directly beneath where I stood, "*Hanger, a-hoy!*" which were the signal words fixed on before our departure. I got my gentleman into the boat, and rowed out of the harbour; and the moon did not rise before we were quite clear of it. Every thing turned out well; the tide and rising of the moon was well timed, and with no inconsiderable degree of pleasure I arrived on board the Delaware frigate, to the great joy of my friend Captain Mason. Unfortunately it was not possible to land this man on the opposite shore, or to send him back to Rhode Island. Captain Mason therefore

proposed putting him the next day on shore on Block Island, a few leagues from Rhode Island; but the fog proved so thick, that we could not make it with safety. We therefore stood out to sea, and I was compelled to take him with me to New York. On our arrival there, I provided him with quarters, drew provisions for him, and supplied him with necessaries. It was intended that he should be sent by the first flag of truce to Rhode Island, or by the first boat to New London, or some town contiguous to his home in New England; but he had not been six days in New York, when he sickened of the small-pox, and died of that distemper.

The sudden disappearance of this man certainly wore an aspect of suspicion, which gave room to many unpleasant

conjectures. The fact, however, being known, that he had been taken away by force off the island, and his never appearing there again, was productive of many reports, all infamously false, and detrimental to my character. In various shapes and forms was this transaction related, both in the Connecticut and Philadelphia newspapers, whose principle was to render odious, in the eyes of the country, any officer who possessed the smallest degree of enterprize or resolution. It was stated first, that this man was murdered on the island; and afterwards, that he was thrown overboard at sea. But, after some time, it being publicly known at New York that I had necessarily brought him there, and treated him with kindness, a more just account was published; but still it was added, that this man had been thrown into prison, where he died of the

jail fever. I have pledged myself solemnly to the fact, and should not have troubled the reader with the minute particulars, was it not absolutely necessary to state them, to justify my character as a soldier and a gentleman.

From my having been absent from New York so many days, indeed above double the time usually required to make that passage, (for the wind was foul nearly the whole way back, as well as going there,) I was given over for lost. Some imagined that the frigate had sailed at night into the harbour and was taken, though such croakers little knew the abilities and judgment of Captain Mason; while others supposed that I had landed and was made prisoner. I arrived, however, to set aside all conjecture, just as Sir Henry Clinton was at dinner with

fourteen or fifteen officers at table, none of whom, that I recollect, are living, except my old friend, Sir Thomas Wallace, who was one of the company, and is well acquainted with this circumstance.

After relating the whole affair, at table, to Sir Henry Clinton, and receiving his thanks in the kindest manner, I never shall forget, to the last day of my life, a very singular remark of his, nearly in the following words: "I commend your prowess much; but at the same time, I am sorry you risked so much, as it was not in my wish you should venture so far: for, upon my word, my dear Hanger, I believe if they had taken you on the island, they would have hanged you directly." I replied, "My dear General, that never entered into my head, it being a thing totally impossible for the Americans to commit such an outrage on an

officer sent by you, in character of an aid-de-camp, with orders to our commanding officer at Rhode Island. I could be subjected to no other danger but of being imprisoned; they could not surely be guilty of such an act." "You may," replied the General, "think so, Hanger; but I give you my word I do not, for I know not what they would not do: and I am happy to see you returned safe." At this time my worthy and intimate friend, Major André, aid-de-camp to Sir Henry, was sitting at table; the same who suffered some time afterwards, and of whom I shall have cause to speak hereafter.

Nothing of consequence, or of peculiar notoriety in the history of my life, took place, worthy to be related, until the great expedition sailed from New York for the reduction of the Southern Provinces, except various military incidents

and occurrences, in which I acted an inferior part, on the great theatre of the war, by no means interesting to the reader, who long ago must have been heartily tired of every thing relative to that subject, and it is very distant from my intention to trouble him with it. A repetition of the Trojan war, in my humble opinion, would be equally as amusing.

Before I pass to the southward, and relate my adventures in Georgia, South and North Carolina, I must mention a singular reverse of fortune which I now suffered. The Devil and Mammon had already conspired to ruin me, and had ransacked and plundered my property in my absence, by compelling the sale of my estate at auction, from the fatality of my agent's death, at a time

when lands were one-third less in value than they were before the war or after. Fortune, that fickle goddess, not satisfied with having already turned her wheel from me and my interests, again destined me to be the object of her caprice and neglect. I received a letter from my sister, Mrs. Vansittart, whose tender love and regard for me is deeply imprinted in my breast, informing me that the Duchess of St. Alban's (my godmother) was dead. She had made a will in my favour, that was witnessed by my mother, in which she made me heir to her whole property, to a very considerable amount. Within the last twelve months of her death, a Mr. Roberts came over from Ireland. She had never seen him before, or ever heard of him. He, however, proved, to her Grace's satisfaction, that he was related to her; so

that she reversed her intentions, made a new will, and left every thing to him. Her second will only bore date six months prior to her death; had she died seven months sooner, I should have inherited a considerable property, and a great addition after the Duke's death, who was then living. The Duchess of St. Albans was a Miss Roberts, a rich heiress: her parents and her near relations dying when she was very young, my father received her into his family, educated and protected her: out of his family she married the Duke of St. Albans; she stood god-mother to me, and lived in the strictest intimacy and friendship with our family. It was but natural to believe that she would have left some part of her property to our family; but thus she in gratitude repaid my father and mother for their tender care and attention to her

for many years, by leaving her whole property to a gentleman with whom she never had any acquaintance till about a year before her death. With what great expectation some people look forward to dead men's and dead women's shoes: but those who do may go bare-footed all their lives. I never expected a guinea from her, therefore suffered no disappointment; for my mother, although she was one of the witnesses to the Duchess's will, which was made before I sailed for America, never, even in the most distant manner, intimated it to me. As I never had buoyed myself up with any hopes of advantage from her, I suffered no mortification on the occasion, though I could not but reflect on the bitterness of my fortune, that, within six months, my interest should have suffered so materially, having been fixed on by her Grace to be

her heir, and had never given her cause to withdraw her former good opinion. But fate had decreed this, together with many other mortifications, miseries and distresses, which I was destined to suffer. Doomed as I was to a life chequered with misfortunes, by a Supreme Power, that same Power gave to me a vigorous constitution, and a bold and undaunted mind, to stem the current of adversity, and bear up against a sea of troubles.

When the expedition from New York took place for the reduction of the Southern Provinces, my worthy friend Sir Henry Clinton fulfilled the promise he had made me, of giving me a command: It consisted of the two hundred picked men from the Hessian army, Col. Emerick's company of riflemen commanded by Captain Abthouse, and about sixty German

Jagers. uO their arrival at Savannah in Georgia, some companies of Provincial light infantry were to be added to the above men; and, at my own request, I was to join my corps to that of my most intimate, affectionate, and deceased friend Col. Ferguson, an officer whose distinguished merit and gallantry is well known to the British army. The above-mentioned men were put on board the ship Anne. In the violent gale of wind, which arose about five days after we quitted the harbour of New York, (Sandy-Hook,) this ship ran foul of another in the night, and carried away both her main and mizen masts; of course, having but the foremast remaining, she was compelled to put before the wind, and make every wind a fair one. She found herself unable to make either the American coast, or bear down upon the West Indies;

therefore, putting the troops and crew to a shorter allowance, bore away right before the wind, it then blowing hard at north-west, and the first port she made was St. Ives in Cornwall. The oldest navigator must acknowledge this as a most singular event—a ship dismasted, bound for Georgia, and driven to England.

The kindest inquiries after my health were made (as I have since been informed) by some of those philanthropic gentlemen who had shared in plundering me of my estate, on their hearing that a corps of soldiers, commanded by Major Hanger, were arrived from America at St. Ives in Cornwall. However, the mutual happiness which both parties would have reciprocally enjoyed at meeting, was for that time prevented, by my having sailed on

board the ship John, at the particular request of my worthy friend Sir Henry Clinton, to see that proper attention was paid to three favourite horses of his during the voyage, which were placed under my particular directions. Thus did I escape being driven to England, by which I should have been obliged to have taken a passage once more over that small herring-pool to America to join the army, beside the good fortune, perhaps, of falling in with some one of those tender-hearted gentlemen who were so kindly interested in my health, and experiencing from them the pleasure of a familiar tap on the shoulder.

This was a fortunate event for the soldiers in the ship Anne, who escaped, by this singular event, the miseries of ill

health, to which all those are doomed who are fated to serve in those intensely hot and sickly climates, whose baneful influence is known only to those who have experienced it. To me it was a misfortune, as it deprived me, for some length of time, of the command of a corps of light troops, so desirable an object to all officers.

My worthy friend Sir Henry Clinton, until an opportunity presented itself of employing me more actively, honoured me, during the siege of Charlestown, by continuing me in his family as one of his aides-de-camps. Before I quit New York altogether, I must relate a circumstance that had nearly cost me my life. The Commander in Chief had fallen down to Sandy Hook, preparatory to his sailing with the army, and had desired me to re-

main in New York till the next day, to bring some papers of consequence to him from his secretary, which were not then finished; and, having received them, I thought of the best means of proceeding to the Hook myself. The transports had all dropped down for some days; and I could not, even in all the river, find a sloop or schooner for my purpose; I, therefore, pressed a strong row-boat, with two men, from the Flymarket-stairs, and proceeded on my way to the Hook. The frost had set in intensely severe for two or three days, so that vast sheets of ice floated up and down the channel with the tide. Before I had got half-way to Staten-Island, the eddy-tide, from round the back point of it, drove several large sheets of ice into the channel, in which my boat got completely entangled; and

we could find no way out, the ice approaching nearer to us every moment. At this instant, Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman in the quarter-master and transport service, was fortunately going down from the dock-yard, in a very strong large sloop. Mr. Hamilton, seeing a boat in distress, surrounded by the ice, and endeavouring to find her way out, knowing the danger we were exposed to, very humanely bore down upon us, breaking, by the force of his vessel, through the flakes of ice. I was on a very intimate footing with Mr. Hamilton, but knew not who my deliverer was until I came within fifty or sixty yards of him. He was astonished how I could have been so imprudent as to attempt passing down the river amongst the ice in a row-boat. I told him I had been warned of the danger, and knew it at my

departure, but I could get no sloop or schooner; and, as the papers were of consequence to the Commander in Chief, it was necessary he should have them, as the fleet was to sail that night; besides, I thought, as the tide of ebb ran very strong down to the Hook, I should not meet any ice in my way sufficient to block me up, as it would go the same way with me, and therefore would not greatly endanger me. Indeed I never dreamed of the shoals of ice that are hurried round the point of Staten-Island, by the eddy-tide meeting the other bodies of ice going down to the island with the ebb-tide, which completely hemmed me in between them.

Myself and one of the watermen had not stepped on board the sloop above two or three minutes, when, as the other

waterman and my servant were handing a favourite spaniel and my portmanteau out of the boat, a sheet of ice stove her nearly in two. My servant jumped on board; but the waterman slipped down, and would have been crushed between the vessel and the ice, if we had not thrown a rope to his assistance, and hauled him up. Thus I providentially escaped from a most miserable death, as I was above three miles from any shore, and must evidently have foreseen my death approaching, without any chance whatever of escaping. I arrived, however, safe at the Hook, delivered the papers to the Commander in Chief, and sailed at day-break the next morning. This happened on Christmas-eve.

Had this expedition been delayed forty-eight hours longer, the whole fleet of

transports would have been frozen fast in the river, as the frost that winter was more intense than the oldest American had ever known. Incredible as it may appear, it is an absolute fact, that in a few days it froze so intensely, that a regiment of cavalry, cannon, and waggons, passed from Long-Island to Staten-Island on the ice, over a channel so deep as to admit the largest ships in the British navy to sail up to New York.

The rendezvous of our fleet was at Savannah in Georgia, where I arrived after a tedious passage, owing to contrary winds and the most violent storms, which dispersed a great part of the fleet: there we were obliged to remain until several ships, which had been obliged to put into the Bahama-Islands, joined us. The army then proceeded to besiege

Charlestown in South Carolina. The greatest part, under the Commander in Chief, proceeded by sea; the other, under the command of General Patterson, by land; and both joined their forces before that town. During the time I remained at Savannah, I had an opportunity of seeing about six hundred Indians, of the Cherokee and Creek nations, preparing and training themselves for war. This sight was very pleasing to me, having never seen any large body of Indians together before.

The Indians abstain from women, take physic, and prepare their bodies for war, by frequently running, and using other manly exercises. In one, not unlike the game we call *goff*, they shew great skill and activity. They were a very fine race of men. One of their Chiefs came

to pay his respect to the Commanding Officer at Savannah. Reader, I think his triumphant entry and dress will at least make you smile. He was mounted on a small, mean Chickesaw horse, about twelve hands and an half high: his dress consisted of a linen shirt, a pair of blue cloth trowsers, with yellow and scarlet flaps sewed down the outward seams; over this he had on an old full-dress uniform of the English foot-guards, the lace very much tarnished; a very large tye-wig on his head; an old gold-laced uniform hat, Cumberland-cocked; a large gorget round his neck; a sword, in a belt, hung over his shoulder; a tomohawk and scalping-knife in his girdle; rings in his nose and ears; his face, and breast, which was quite open, painted various colours; and a musket on his shoulder. He was one of the most dis-

tinguished Chiefs amongst the whole Indian nations, and was called the *mad dog*. I took him for a madman; and never laughed more heartily in my life than when I first saw him.

The beautiful red birds of that country, which are known in England by the name of Virginia nightingales, are as plentiful in Georgia as sparrows in this country. A negro man had caught a dozen of them in a trap, and offered to sell them to me for a York shilling. I might have had them, I dare say, for sixpence; and the cock-birds are sold in London by the bird-fanciers for three guineas a-piece.

When the siege of Charlestown was finished, and the town taken, Sir Henry Clinton gave me a warrant in conjunction with my old friend Colonel Ferguson,

either jointly or separately, throughout the provinces of South and North Carolina, to regulate, inspect, muster, &c. all volunteer corps, loyal militia, and others; and to inspect the quantity of corn, cattle, &c. belonging to the inhabitants; and to report thereon to Lord Cornwallis, who commanded in the Southern Provinces. Lord Cornwallis most kindly told me, that, although I was separated from my old friend and protector Sir Henry Clinton, if it was in his power to make my situation pleasant, I had but to command him. To serve under the command of so good-tempered and brave a soldier could not but be pleasing to me, and to every other officer who is acquainted with his goodness of heart. I should be wanting in common justice, if I did not testify his kindness and protection towards me,

which, from that day to this moment, he has never with-held from me.

The power and command invested in me by this warrant was very extensive: it extended even so far as to empower me to join the race of Carolinians together in holy matrimony. This, however, requires explanation—By the laws and customs of Carolina, all justices of the peace, field officers, and colonels of the militia, had a power to marry, and did marry, the inhabitants who lived at a remote distance from a great town. In the back parts of Carolina you may search after an angel with as much chance of finding one as a parson: there is no such thing—I mean, when I was there. What they now are, I know not: it is not impossible but they may have become more religious, moral, and virtuous, since the great af-

fection they have imbibed for the French. In my time, you might travel sixty or seventy miles and not see a church, or even a schism-shop *. I have often called at a dog-house in the woods, inhabited by eight or ten persons, merely from curiosity. I have asked the master of the house, "Pray, my friend, of what religion are you?"—"Of what religion, Sir?"—"Yes, my friend, of what religion are you, or to what sect do you belong?"—"Oh! now I understand you; why, for the matter of that, *religion does not trouble us much in these parts.*"

This distinguished race of men are more savage than the Indians, and possess *every* one of their vices, but *not one* of their virtues. I have known

* A meeting-house.

one of these fellows travel two hundred miles through the woods, never keeping any road or path, guided by the sun by day, and the stars by night, to kill a particular person belonging to the opposite party: he would shoot him before his own door, and ride away to boast of what he had done on his return. I speak only of the back-woodsmen, not of the inhabitants in general, of South Carolina; for, in all America, there are not better educated or better bred men than the planters. Indeed, Charlestown is celebrated for the splendour, luxury, and education of its inhabitants: I speak only of that *heathen race* known by the name of *Crackers.*

Had I continued to remain in this capacity with my friend Col. Ferguson, I might have suffered the same fate as he

did at King's Mountain, where he was killed, and his corps defeated. The Americans had such an inveteracy against Ferguson, that they buried all the other bodies, but stripped Ferguson's of its clothes, and left it naked on the field of battle, to be devoured by the turkey-buzards, a species of vulture in that country. I state this merely to shew the inveteracy of the enemy; for it is of little consequence, in my opinion, whether a man's body be devoured by vultures, or embalmed as the Ægyptian mummies are, or buried in Westminster Abbey. If, indeed, as Mahomet is said to have done, I could take my flight to Paradise on a jack-ass, that would be a pleasant ride. But Fate destined me for other things: my friend Col. Tarleton applied for me to be appointed major to the British Legion;

and the Commander in Chief, Sir H. Clinton, appointed me before he sailed for New York.

The reader will give me credit, I trust, for having passed through my campaign to the north so peaceably as I have done, having not dealt in the exploits of war further than was absolutely necessary to keep up the chain of my Adventures. I trust also he will applaud my humanity in not shocking his feelings: for, as yet, I have not drawn one drop of blood of the enemy; nor is it my intent. I have also studiously avoided relating all those calamities and horrors that in war are impossible to be prevented in the best-disciplined armies, some of which, were I to relate them, I assure the reader, would make his wig stand on end on his head: but a truce to murder, plunder, and deso-

lation. Let the reader be assured, if his wig is not incommoded by other circumstances, my writings shall never disturb it.

In the progress the army under Lord Cornwallis made to the upper parts of North Carolina, I caught the yellow fever at Charlottebourg. Tarleton was just recovering from it as I sickened. When the army marched from that town, myself and five officers, who had the same disorder, were put into waggons and carried with the army. They all died in the first week of our march, and were buried in the woods as the army moved on.

My sickness happened in the autumn, at which time the rainy season sets in, when small rivulets, which, generally, the soldier may walk through and not wet

him above the ancles, swell, in a few hours, to such an height as to take a man up to the neck, and oftentimes for some hours impede the march of an army. In passing several of these small brooks, the straw on which I lay in the waggon was often wetted. Kind Nature had endowed me with a constitution much stronger than the generality of mankind, or the damps I encountered must have killed me. The fatigue of travelling alone brought the other five officers, in a very short time, to their graves. I took the advantage of the escort of a regiment, which was ordered to leave the army and march down out of North Carolina to Camden in South Carolina, where I arrived safe, and all but dead. There Lord Rawdon (now Earl Moira) commanded. I had travelled over a great extent of country, in a waggon; so that from the roughness

of the roads, and the general debility of my whole frame, I was reduced to something very like a skeleton. I was, indeed, so weak that I could not turn myself, but was forced to be moved by my attendants when I wanted for ease to change my posture. In this miserable situation I lay so long, first on one side, then on the other, and then on my back, that the bones of my back and each hip came fairly, or rather freely, through the skin. I then had no other posture to lay in but on my stomach, with pillows to support me.

The reader may think that I exaggerate the miseries I suffered, for surely no man ever endured more; but, I pledge my honour, that all I relate is strictly true: but I will give additional testimony to my own; for, having the honour to dine at Lord Moira's house in St. James's

Place, about two years after my arrival in England, where his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Sir Henry Clinton, General Vaughan, General Crosbie, and many other officers who had served in America, were present, his Lordship could not refrain from observing how surprising it was that a man should be sitting in that company, whose bones he had absolutely seen at Camden come through his skin.—The disorder at last fell down into my legs, which, I am of opinion, saved my life; as that moment I began to recover. Till that circumstance I had taken nothing to support me but opium and port-wine for three weeks, as nothing else would stay on my stomach. I now began to have an appetite, and by degrees I recovered; but for a long time could not walk without the assistance of one crutch. If I do not actually owe my

life to Earl Moira, I certainly am indebted to him for the more speedy recovery of my health, from the many comfortable and nourishing things he sent me every day from his own table, which my servants could not make, and were not to be purchased; and the butcher's meat killed at that time of the year, is absolutely little better than carrion at Camden.

I was witness to the arduous task to which this nobleman, young in years, but a veteran in abilities and military science, was appointed, and from which he extricated himself with so much honour to his talents and advantage to his country.—Lord Cornwallis's army was marched into Virginia, and Lord Rawdon left to protect South Carolina, with a feeble force, against the whole power which

General Green could assemble in both the provinces; and he unquestionably (without any disparagement to the military character of General Washington) was the best and most active officer in the whole American army. From Camden I went down to Charlestown, where I found my old friend Doctor Hayes, (now Sir John Macnamara Hayes,) physician-general to our army, who assured me, that, notwithstanding the great debility I laboured under, my stamina was sound and unimpaired; and that if I would either go to sea for two or three months, and take my passage to the northward, so as to quit, for a short time, that baneful climate, I should be as good a man as I ever was, in respect to health. Captain George Montague, an intimate friend of mine, who commanded the Pearl frigate, was ordered

by the Admiral, with the Iris frigate, Captain Dawson, to cruize off the Bermuda Islands; and he kindly took me on board. I remained at sea above three months; and so beneficial was the sea-voyage, and bathing every morning in salt water, that, before three weeks were passed, I had laid aside my crutch.

During our voyage, I had the pleasure of landing at Bermudas, a beautiful spot, and the most healthy climate on the face of the whole earth. Sick persons from the West Indies and the Carolinas resort to this island for the recovery of their health. Being situated a great distance from any land, it feels not the heat of summer, from the perpetual refreshing breezes of the ocean. There are here two species of fish, uncommonly fine, and of a very luscious quality, called Grooper and

Porgey, the one equal to a john-dorie; the other superior in flavour to a carp. This island swarms with poultry, and yields the finest onions, both which are sent to the West Indies. Cedar wood is in great plenty on this island; so much so, that all the schooners and sloops are built with it: they are very light and buoyant, and sail faster than any vessels. The time for our cruise being expired, Captain George Montague bore away for the Chesapeak-bay. We made the Capes about two o'clock P. M. and were standing in to the bay. It was my intent to land at the first British port, and proceed to join my regiment, the British Legion, commanded by Col. Tarleton. A privateer, however, fortunately bore down to us, and informed us that the Count De Grasse, with a French fleet, lay at anchor up the bay.

If it had not been for this intelligence, we should have anchored at night, in the middle of the French fleet, as we imagined we should find the British fleet there.

Thus, by my being at sea for four months, did I escape being captured with Lord Cornwallis's army, as well as the being made prisoner at sea by Count De Grasse. We stood out a great distance to sea that night, in order to avoid the track of another French fleet coming from Rhode-Island to join Count De Grasse, and then made the best of our way to New York, where we heard all the particulars relative to the situation of Lord Cornwallis's army, which, in about six or seven weeks afterwards, surrendered to the joint forces of the French and Americans.

It is necessary for me to observe, that I sailed from New York with that fleet of men of war (in my friend Montague's frigate) which took on board ten thousand chosen troops, the prime of the British and Hessian forces, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, with the intent to relieve Lord Cornwallis's army. This force, unfortunately, arrived three or four days after Lord Cornwallis's army had capitulated.

The fleet, with the troops on board from New York, finding this misfortune had befallen the army in Virginia prior to their arrival, returned to New York.— This misfortune drew the war to a conclusion.

The next year Sir Henry Clinton went home. I lost my kind protector and

friend, and the army the best of men and a most gallant soldier.—Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, assumed the command of the army in America. The manner in which this gallant and distinguished veteran received me, after all those officers, under whose auspices I had served the whole war, were departed for England, was highly gratifying to my feelings; and the assurances he made me, on his arrival at New York, of employing me in a very active line, (provided the war had continued,) deserves my warmest thanks.

I cannot refrain from relating a ludicrous conversation which took place between Sir Guy Carleton and myself, one day when I had the honour of dining at head-quarters, immediately after his arrival, which strongly evinced his good

humour and affability. The great skill which, from years of practice, (even from a lad when educated in Germany,) I had acquired in the knowledge of a rifle-gun, and the precision and perfection to which I had brought the art of shooting with a rifle, was well known to the army, and Sir Guy Carleton had been informed of it. At dinner, he said to me, sitting opposite to him, "Major Hanger, I have been told that you are a most skilful marksman with a rifle-gun. I have heard of astonishing feats that you have performed in shooting!"—Thanking him for the compliment, I told his Excellency, that I was vain enough to say, with truth, that many officers in the army had witnessed my adroitness. I then began to inform Sir Guy how my old deceased friend, Col. Ferguson, and myself, had practised together, who, for skill and knowledge of that

weapon, had been so celebrated, and that Ferguson had ever acknowledged the superiority of my skill to his, after one particular day's practice, when I had shot *three* balls running into one hole.—Sir Guy replied to this, "I know you are very expert in this art."—Now, had I been quiet and satisfied with the compliment the Commander in Chief paid me, and not pushed this affair farther, it had been well for me; but I replied, "Yes, Sir Guy, I really have reduced the art of shooting with a rifle to such a nicety, that, at a moderate distance, I can *kill a flea* with a single ball." At this Sir Guy began to stare not a little, and seemed to indicate, from the smile on his countenance, that he thought I had rather outstepped my usual outdoings in the art. Observing this, I respectfully replied, "I see, by your Excellency's countenance,

that you seem doubtful of the singularity and perfection of my art; but, if I may presume so much as to dare offer a wager to my Commander in Chief, I will bet your Excellency five guineas that I kill a flea with a single ball once in eight shots, at eight yards;"—(and, reader, I will bet you fifty guineas I do; and, what is more, the person who wagers with me shall decide the bet, to shew that there is no bubble in it.) Sir Guy replied, "My dear Major, I am not given to lay wagers; but for once I will bet you five guineas, provided you will *let the flea hop*."—A loud laugh ensued at the table; and, after laughing heartily myself, I placed my knuckle under the table, and striking the table, said, "Sir Guy, I knock under, and will never speak of my skill in shooting with a rifle-gun again before you."

Peace took place shortly after, when I obtained a passport, both from the Congress and the French Ambassador at Philadelphia, to repair to that city to visit my old acquaintance the Duke de Lauzun, afterwards Duke de Biron, and afterwards guillotined. I must confess, although I had a passport from the French minister and from the Congress, I was rather doubtful and diffident how I should journey across the Ferries to Philadelphia in the character of Major to the British Legion; a corps not much esteemed by the Americans. But my friend, Mr. Church, who resided many years, after the war, in England, together with Col. Wadsworth, who had acted with him as Joint-Commissaries to the French army, kindly took me under their protection to Philadelphia. These two gentlemen, in great good humour, but not without some

degree of fear and displeasure on my part, when they arrived at Princetown, invited the celebrated, pious, and well-known character, Doctor Witherspoon. To this pious man they exhibited me in such characters, that, although the Peace was concluded, I truly believe the Doctor thought his head in danger that night; and certain I am, if he had heard that I had been within ten miles of his pious and sanctified domain, he would have buried the last silver tea-spoon he was possessed of ten feet under ground. Thus did my friend Church and Wadsworth amuse themselves at my expence: and, what is more, all they told the Doctor in good humour and in fun, playing me off before him, the pious Divine took for gospel.

I was treated with the greatest civility,

not only by the French ambassador and officers, but also with the most perfect respect, attention, and politeness by the leading families in Philadelphia, particularly by Mr. Morris the financier; also by Governor Morris, a gentleman who, I think, at that time filled the office of Secretary of State for the war department; and though he had by some misfortune lost one leg, that accident had not in the least impaired his understanding; for he was one of the most sensible, the best-informed, and most agreeable of men I ever knew: But, above all others, I here with pleasure pay that tribute of gratitude to General Dickenson *, a distinguished of-

* He was brother to the famous Dickenson, who was called the *Pennsylvania farmer*, from having written Letters under that name at the beginning of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her Colonies, which instigated the people to take up arms.

ficer in the American service, for the uncommon civility and attention he shewed to me: his house, replete with the truest hospitality, was open to me by night and by day: his mind was too noble, too enlightened, too expanded, to think ill of, or harbour any rancour against me or any other officer, who, by any active services, might have made themselves obnoxious to the generality of Americans. I am convinced, from my heart, that, had I been of ten times more detriment to the Americans, his respect would in proportion have increased; for he had, from an early period of the war, served his country with distinction and alacrity, and honoured those British officers who had endeavoured, to the utmost of their abilities, to serve their king and country.

I shall here relate a conversation that

took place one day at his table, before a large company; and an opinion which I gave relative to the future destiny of the government of that country; and I am of opinion, that the state of affairs there is rapidly hastening a dissolution of the United States. At that time, when peace had been concluded but a few weeks, I was of that opinion; and remember well, when General Dickenson asked me my opinion of the government and of its stability, I communicated my thoughts nearly in the following words: "Sir, as long as General Washington, and the other principal military characters and leading men in Congress, who have brought about this revolution, are alive, the government will remain as it is, united; but, when all of you are in your graves, there will be wars and rumours of wars in this country: there are too

many different interests in it for them to be united under one government. Just as this war commenced, you were going to fight amongst yourselves, and would have fought, had the British not interfered: you then, one and all, united against us as your common enemy; but, one of these days, the Northern and Southern powers will fight as vigorously against each other, as they both have united to do against the British. This country, when its population shall be completed, is large enough for three great empires. Look, gentlemen, at the map of it: view how irregular the provinces are laid out, running into each other: look particularly at the State of New York; it extends one hundred and fifty miles in length, due north; and in no place, in breadth, above fifteen or twenty miles. No country can be said

to have a boundary or frontier, unless its exterior limits are marked by an unfordable river, or a chain of mountains not to be passed but in particular places. The great finger of Nature has distinctly pointed out three extensive boundaries to your country: the North River, the first; the Great Potamack, which runs three hundred miles from Alexandria to the sea, unfordable, the second; and the Mississippi, the third and last. When the country of Kentucky is completely settled, and the back country farther on to the Banks of the Mississippi shall become popular and powerful, do you think they will ever be subjected to a government seated at Philadelphia or New York, at the distance of so many hundred miles? But such a defection will not happen for a very long period of time, until the inhabitants of that country become numerous

and powerful*: the Northern and Southern powers will first divide, and contend in arms."

I remember perfectly well General Dickenson's reply to my opinion: "God forbid that I should ever live to see that day, or that such a dire calamity should ever befall my country after my death! Yet I am afraid that there may be some just grounds of suspicion for the foundation of your opinions." I could not refrain from making some further observations relative to the future situation of America; for this liberal-minded man insisted on my giving my opinions without the least restraint; and I continued my discourse as fo[illegible]—"The Ameri-

* The new country of Kentucky at that time was but in its infancy, and this day there are above eighty thousand men able to bear arms.

cans, Sir, are grateful, and ought to be grateful, to the French nation, for having assisted them to gain their independence; but I think a day will come when the Americans will have reason to curse the hour that they ever admitted a Frenchman into their country. Look, Sir, to Europe: throughout all that great continent you will find, that wherever France has gained a footing, she has ever, by the intrigues of her emissaries, embroiled those European powers in disputes and wars, and used them to her interest. She will endeavour to act the same by your nation, and make you subservient to her interests, as she has done by other nations."

I am bound in justice and truth to add the opinion of the company; and the whole of them seemed much to underva-

lue the sentiments which I entertained of the policy of the French nation: and General Dickenson replied, "Major Hanger, in this point, relative to the French, you, in the opinion of the company, and also in my opinion, are totally mistaken; for the counsels or influence of the French will never prevail amongst us: they can never have any influence or power with us."—This the conversation ended.

The Americans, at that time, acted on the truest principles of liberty and honesty. Little did they suspect that, so young as they now are as an independent nation, (for their independency has existed only about twenty odd years,) venality and corruption should have established its ascendancy with such rapid and gigantic strides, of which we have at this day such convincing proofs: for, although the

States of America are not thirty years old, infants, they may be called, as a power, yet veterans are they in corruption and state-intrigue. I claim no greater merit for my opinions, relative to America, than is due to Mother Shipton, who prophesied that London would go to Hampstead; and we all know that it is already arrived within a few hundred yards of it.

I will risk a farther opinion relative to America: should I live to a good old age, I am confident that I shall hear of the Northern and Southern powers in America waging war with each other: when one party will solicit assistance from France, the other, from Great Britain. It will then depend on the judgment of those men who, at that period, may be at the head of the French

and British Councils, whether or not they will interfere in American disputes. In my humble opinion, it would be better for both countries to let them settle the matter amongst themselves.—I will be so bold as to offer another opinion. We should give up Canada and Nova Scotia to the Americans, provided we could make this sacrifice the foundation of an alliance offensive and defensive with the United States: then we never should be obliged to send the prime of the British army to die like rotten sheep in the West-India islands. In America we could recruit forces for the West Indies with men inured to an hot climate, who would not suffer by death and sickness in any degree equal to the new levies sent from England; with the additional advantage of keeping our army entire and in full vigour at home. I anxiously hope

and trust I shall live to see the day when an alliance offensive and defensive will be formed between the two countries; as Great Britain and America may defy the united powers of all Europe. Surely such an alliance between the two countries would be more advantageous and natural for both, than one with France.

One further observation, I recollect, I made at General Dickenson's table:—"In process of time, when your Western territories are perfectly settled from the Ohio to the Mississippi, which in time cannot fail to be perfected; and when your Western and Southern Colonies become in population as numerous as the sands of the sea—then will the riches of Potosi attract the attention of the Americans to the conquest of Mexico and Peru. This is an object which, from the

magnitude of its wealth, is certain in time to take place; but, as that cannot happen for at least fifty or an hundred years, I think, Gentlemen, we should not postpone taking a part of the wealth of that country immediately; therefore I freely offer my services to the Congress on such an expedition; and, on my honour, I will serve them as faithfully as I have my king and country! for I am a soldier of fortune." So, taking the bottle, I filled a glass, and drank to an expedition against the *Golden Spaniard.* My toast was productive of much laughter, mirth, and good-humour, together with many observations on the situation and wealth of the Spanish Colonies so contiguous to them; and I am inclined to believe, that, at that time, even the company did not think that the possession of the wealth of Mexico was quite

so difficult, or required so many years' application and study as to arrive at the knowledge of the Philosopher's Stone.

Before I quit Philadelphia, I cannot refrain from mentioning the toasts which were always given after dinner at the tables of the most distinguished characters. I was invited by the President of the Congress to dinner, when he gave the following in rotation:—The Congress—Our great and good ally the King of France—The King of England—General Washington—Sir Guy Carleton. These were the standing toasts; after which many convivial and polite ones were given. At the time that these gentlemen were toasting the King of France as their great and good ally, poor Lewis never dreamed that they were drinking a sepa-

ration to his head from his body; but it is well known now, that the revolution which he favoured in America brought on his destruction and the revolution in France.

After my return from Philadelphia to New York, Sir Guy Carleton gave me leave to go to Nova Scotia, in order to petition the Governor of that province to allot lands for those soldiers of our regiment, the British Legion, who chose to remain and settle in America. I landed at Halifax, and from thence sailed to Port Roseway and the River Jordan; as well as to many other places. This country may be described in a few words. In this province there is seven months' intense hard winter; during the other five, the inhabitants live, without any inte[illegible]ion, in a thick fog. One hap-

piness the poor settlers enjoy, and I know of no other: In one day they can catch enough cod-fish to salt, without going above four or five miles from the shore, to supply two or three families for a twelvemonth; with a small patch of potatoes, therefore, they can never starve.

I saw nothing here worthy of observation, excepting a perpetual continuation of rocks and stoney mountains, and an iron-bound coast, frightful and dangerous to the mariner. I was very near being cast away on making Port-Roseway harbour: if the fog had not cleared up a little, in half an hour more we should have been driven by the current on the breakers; for then we were lying-to, having had a faint view of the land through the fog early that morning. From Halifax I returned to New York.

on board a frigate commanded by my old friend Captain Hawkins, now Admiral Witshead, where I remained until Sir Guy Carleton, with the troops, evacuated that country. With that fleet I took my passage for England, and arrived in the Downs after near seven years' absence.

Some months before I quitted America, when my worthy and true friend, Colonel M'Mahon took his departure for England, at his kind request I gave him a power of attorney, jointly with my friend Tarleton, to endeavour at an arrangement of my affairs prior to my arrival; as it was agreed that, on my arrival in Europe, I should go to Calais, and there remain until I knew how the land lay in England. M'Mahon, that I

should not be in want, generously gave me a credit on his banker in London for five hundred pounds. To this friend I certainly owe all the happiness and misfortunes I have undergone; for, had it not been for his exertions, I never should have come to England, but gone to Germany, where I am certain the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel would have requited my services in a far more satisfactory manner than this country has done. Would to God I had never, to this hour, placed my foot on British ground! I had then my half-pay as Major in the British service, which I could have received abroad; and, besides this, I had about two hundred and forty pounds per annum left me by my kind mother, which sum was then totally unimpaired. With my employment and pay as a Hessian officer in his Serene High-

ness's service, I could have lived most magnificently, and never have known distress, or have been subjected to a prison, in a land of liberty. However, Fate had decreed it otherwise.

I am at length arrived at a period in the History of my Life when I am able to testify my gratitude to a very old and intimate friend, Mr. Richard Tattersall, for his unbounded friendship towards me; a liberality and generosity of conduct that stands unrivalled. When he heard that Colonel M'Mahon was deputed by me to endeavour to arrange my shattered and plundered circumstances, so as to enable me to live in my native country, my dear and worthy friend, old Richard, waited on Colonel M'Mahon, and joined his exertions; in fact, he took the whole burthen of my distresses on his own shoul-

ders, and employed his own lawyer to examine and investigate my affairs.

I will not trouble the reader with minute particulars, which could not be very amusing to him: but, after about two months' correspondence with me at Calais, my friend Col. Tarleton was so kind as to come over to Calais to visit me, by Tattersall's desire, as he could, in a few hours, make me more fully master of my affairs than by writing fifty letters by the post. Tarleton staid four or five days with me; nor shall I forget the letter he brought me from Mr. Tattersall, to the last hour of my life. It was as follows, and ought to be written in letters of gold:

"My dear Major,

"I do insist on it that you will come home directly to England, to my house, where you shall be made happy. You

have been robbed and plundered. I will bail you from every body who may arrest you; and, if you cannot pay, I will.

"I am, dear Major, &c.

"RICHARD TATTERSALL."

This letter, though very short, the reader must allow to be sweet. It is necessary I should state, that, for some years before I quitted England, I had lived, when in affluence, in the strictest terms of intimacy and friendship with this worthy old man, and had constantly kept up a correspondence with him during the whole of the American war. He proved himself one of those few men in this world who do not desert an old friend in distress.

It was agreed between Tarleton and me, before he returned to England from

his friendly visit to me at Calais, that I should not return to London until I had heard from him and Mr. Tattersall after his arrival there. In about ten days I received letters, and took my passage in the next packet for Dover, and arrived at my old friend Tattersall's house, Hyde-Park Corner, where I was received with the truest friendship, and remained under his hospitable roof for near a twelvemonth afterwards. I here held a consultation with my lawyers, when they were of opinion, from the securities I had given, before my departure from England, for every farthing I owed, that I could not be cast in any action by which I might be arrested: however, to make things more secure, my lawyers were prepared to plead the Statute of Limitations. I knew not then what that statute meant; but I ou

now most thoroughly; and I hold it disgraceful for any man to plead that statute to evade the payment of just debts; but not in my case, plundered and stripped as I had been, and brought in debt by those who were the cause of my ruin, by compelling a sale of my estate, the particulars of which I have already related, from the unfortunate death of my agent Mr. Wyatt, who, had he lived, would have prevented all my misfortunes. While he lived, they could not have foreclosed the mortgage on my estate; and I should have been worth ten thousand pounds, instead of being beggared and ruined. It is not for me to comment on the propriety or impropriety of my own conduct: I relate the facts; and let the world judge me. From Tattersall's house I sallied into the world, and in a short time was arrested for be-

tween seven and eight hundred pounds. This was all that was against me. Old Mr. Richard, and his son Edmund, (now my friend, the present Mr. Tattersall,) were my constant bail.

I brought the actions into court; and, the first cause I tried, the jury never left the box, nor even consulted together for more than a couple of minutes, and gave a verdict for me: after which, all the rest withdrew their actions, of which, I believe, there were nine or ten.

My lawyers being prepared with the Statute of Limitations, as the great salvo of all, was of no material benefit to me; for the whole world knows that a jury (especially of tradesmen) will never permit any statute to be pleaded to bias their judgment, when they perceived a direct

intent of the person to defraud a just creditor; but mine was a very different case. After I had been ruined and robbed of my estate, and plundered of my whole property, these creditors of mine were not satisfied, without endeavouring to confine my body in a jail. Thus, by compelling a sale of my estate before a Master in Chancery, from the unfortunate decease of my friend Mr. Wyatt, at a time when land was fallen full one-third in value, I was undone; and, instead of being worth ten thousand pounds, was made about eight hundred pounds worse than nothing. I had now to begin the world again, after having served my country faithfully seven years. Had I not gone to America, I should have kept my estate to this moment; for, while I remained in England, my creditors could not have forced a sale.

The summer after I came to England, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales did me the honour to take me down with him to Brighton. I never shall forget the two or three first seasons I had the honour of being with him there. In all my days before and since, I never passed my time more agreeably or with greater happiness;—they were indeed the pleasantest days of my life. I had good health, good spirits; was not in debt; and had no earthly care whatever to distract my mind. But, of late years, how has Fortune frowned upon me!

If I were not to acknowledge the obligations I owe to the Prince of Wales, I should be worse than ungrateful; I should be the basest of men. In affluence, in poverty, at liberty, and when

in prison, his kindness to me has never varied: but, for one action beyond all others, I am truly indebted to him: when a prisoner, and deprived of the power of vindicating myself in public circles; where the ever-busy tongue of calumny tried to strip me of the only wealth I possessed, my character as an officer and a gentleman; he nobly came forward, pledging himself to the falsehood of the assertion, and stemmed the tide of public calumny, until justice and the law of the land proved the baseness of the aspersion, and covered my enemies with shame. For above sixteen years I have had the honour of his protection and acquaintance: it is hard, indeed, if I did not know him in so long a period of time, when I have viewed him in every stage, in health, on the bed of sickness, in convivial and in serious hours. This Prince is but little known to the world

at large, who judge of him from report only. What is common report, but a common prostitute? To make her the standard of truth, is as erroneous as to make the cameleon the standard of colour. A day shall come, vipers, when ye shall be compelled to swallow the poison you here spit forth. By my honour, and the sacred love and reverence I bear to truth, I am not induced to speak of him from his dignified station in life: I speak not of him as being Prince of Wales. Were he an ensign on half-pay, with no other support than that scanty pittance; or a clergyman serving three churches for forty pounds a-year—two situations most deplorable, and the least to be envied in life —I would select him, above all mankind, for a companion and friend; and by his judgment I would be guided in the most weighty and intricate concerns. His cha-

mies even acknowledge that he is the most accomplished and best-bred gentleman of the age; a master of languages, and an elegant classical scholar—three distinguished qualities rarely to be met with in one man.

The year I came to England, the contested election for Westminster (Fox, Hood, and Wray, candidates) took place. The walking travellers, Spillard and Stewart, the Abyssinian Bruce, who has feasted on steaks cut from the rump of a living ox; and various others, who, in their extensive travels, have encountered wild beasts, serpents, and crocodiles, breakfasted and toasted muffins at the mouth of a volcano—whom hunger have, with joy, compelled to banquet on the leavings of a lion or a tiger, or the carcase of a dead alligator—who can

boast of smoking the pipe of peace with the Little Carpenter and the Mad Dog—and lived on terms of the strictest intimacy with the Cherokees, the Chickesaws, and Chuctaws, and with all the *aws* and *ees* of that immense continent—who, from the more temperate shore of the Mississippi, have extended their course to the burning soil of India and to the banks of the Ganges—from the frozen north European seas to the banks of the temperate and more genial Po—may boast their worldly experience and knowledge of human life—but no one, in my humble opinion, has seen *real life*, or can know it, unless he has taken an active part in a contested election for Westminster. In no school can a man be taught a better lesson of human life than at a contested Westminster election: there can he view human nature in her

basest attire; riot, murder, and drunkenness are the order of the day, and bribery and perjury walk hand in hand; for men, who had no pretensions to vote, were as plenty to be found in the Garden as turnips, who, at a very moderate rate, were induced to poll. A gentleman, to make himself of any considerable use to either party, must possess a number of engageing, familiar, and condescending qualities: he must help a porter up with his load, shake hands with a fishwoman, pull his hat off to an oyster-wench, kiss a ballad-singer, and be familiar with a beggar. If, in addition to these amiable good qualities, he is a tolerable good boxer, can play a good stick, and in the evening drink a pail-full of all sorts of liquors in going the rounds to solicit voters at their various clubs, then, indeed, he is a most highly finished and

useful agent.—In all the above accomplishments and sciences, except drinking, which I never was fond of, I have the vanity to believe that I arrived nerer to perfection than any of my rivals.

I should be ungrateful, indeed, if I did not testify my thanks to those gallant troops of high rank and distinguished fame, the knights of the strap, and the black-diamond knights *, who displayed so much bravery and attachment to our cause. By my soul, they are higher in my estimation than all the knights in Christendom together, not excepting even the Knights of Malta, with Quixote Paul at their head. At that time I formed a great intimacy with them, which has continued to this day between us, for I

* The Irish chairmen and coal-heavers.

never forget my old acquaintances whenever I meet them, nor look upon my *old* friends with *a new face*, which is too much, in general, the custom of the world. We have shaken hands and drank together frequently since the time of our active services; and I trust I shall live to taste many a good pot more of brown stout with them: I will ever acknowledge their gallantry and honest attachment.

I was eye-witness to a very singular circumstance, which if I did not relate, I should be a very unfaithful historian:—When the numbers for Lord John Townshend began to increase rapidly on the poll, the adverse party, to delay our polling so many in the day, substituted a device to delay our exertions, and to lessen the numbers on the

poll-book, and insisted that every man who came to vote should take the test-oath. The celebrated Edmund Burke, of pensioned memory, came before the hustings to give his vote, accompanied with Peter Delmé, Esquire; when the poll-clerk for the opposite party informed Mr. Burke, that he had positive orders not to permit any person's name whatever to be entered on the books unless they had taken the test-oath. Mr. Burke began to expatiate with him on the subject, presuming, that, as he was a member of parliament, he would not insist on his taking the test-oath. But the clerk was positive, and Mr. Delmé made no objection, though he also was in Parliament, took the test-oath, and accordingly gave his vote. But when the clerk offered Mr. Burke the *Testament*, Mr. Burke, with an indignant

look, and a rage not to be described, snatched the book out of the clerk's hands, and threw it at his head: then walked indignantly away, muttering his resentment, but without giving his vote. I do not mean, by this narrative of simple facts, in the smallest degree to imply any thing more than that Edmund Burke was *very shy of the Testament* on that occasion.

I beg it may be well understood, before I proceed with remarks on the Westminster elections, that it is very far from my intent to sing a recantation of my own actions; but, after years of cool reflection, I reflect with horror, that the capital should have been so convulsed for four or five weeks by the faction of two parties contending for power. I trust I shall live to see the time that all elections will

finish in one day, and the votes taken parochially, which would effectually prevent riot and perjury, and many other inferior crimes which at present are committed at all elections. Fine speeches every day were delivered from the hustings, endeavouring to impress the minds of the people with the freedom of elections, and how disinterestedly both parties acted for the public good, for the liberty of the people, and freedom of the nation.

I am bound in honour to render justice to each party for the STRIKING PROOFS they gave of the sincerity of their professions; as it must be admitted that they manifested it to an eminent degree by the freedom they displayed in breaking each other's heads. Of that species of liberty each were abundantly lavish.

At present I must conclude the subject of Westminster elections; but, in my third volume, it is my intent to treat more at large on that and on all other elections.

The reader, I hope, will pardon me now for taking a very long hop, step, and jump, over a period of above twelve years of my life, more replete with anecdotes, and fully as fluctuating in circumstances, as those years I have already described. For a narrative of those twelve interesting years I must entreat their patience for a few months longer, until a third volume of my Life, Adventures, and Opinions appear before the Public: for I find these pages swelling to such a great extent that I am compelled hastily to conclude the volume, and approach that period when I surrendered as a pri-

soner to the marshal of the King's Bench prison. I am peculiarly anxious to relate my conduct when there, and the consequences which led me to suffer confinement. As I am neither ashamed or afraid of making known any thing I have done, the public shall be minutely informed of the particulars.

Prior to that circumstance taking place, it will be necessary briefly to narrate by what means I was reduced to ruin, after having got over all former difficulties; and had been blessed, not only with a comfortable, but an affluent annual income, which was much more than I had reason to expect I should have attained, after the various changes of fortune and poverty I had experienced.

For several years the East-India Com-

pany had done me the honour to employ me on the recruiting service, in this country, for their army in India. There was no salary attached to the employment: the more active my services were in behalf of the Honourable Company, the greater were my profits. I had brought this business to such perfection, that I never, any year after the first, made less than six hundred pounds profit. During the first year I intrinsically lost five hundred pounds, which was expended to set this great machine going. After having once wound up this recruiting-dial, it wanted but little regulating, which my subsequent successes and regularity proved. I had extended my communications so wide and general, that there was not a town in England, of consequence, in which I had not established a regular rendezvous. To my worthy and kind

friends, Sir Stephen Lushington and Mr. Devaynes, I am indebted for this employment. At the death of Major Weldon, who had a warrant to recruit for the East-India Company, they recommended me to succeed him. With truth I may say, that, for several years, I occupied this employment to the satisfaction of the Honourable Company and with credit to myself.

An unfortunate dispute between the Board of Controul, and the Directors of the Honourable East-India Company, took place, relative to the building of a barrack in this country to receive the East-India recruits prior to their being embarked for India. This system the India Directors opposed to a man, excepting the Chairman and Deputy Chairman. A long debate took place on this

subject (at which I was present) in the public court-room, and a very great majority, by vote, threw out the plan for erecting barracks. The Board of Controul, after that question was carried by a very great majority of Proprietors against them, thought fit to change the whole system of recruiting for the Honourable Company's army in India, and gave them recruits from Chatham barracks. This put it out of the power of the Honourable Company to employ me any longer. Thus I lost a very comfortable maintenance. It was not the loss of six hundred pounds per annum (and I solemnly declare I never made less) that I had alone to lament; but, having the honour of being employed by the India Company, I was perfectly satisfied with my occupation, and judged it as a certain employment for life; and

as such it was universally considered; The Honourable Company would never have discharged me from their service but in case of malpractices, which I trust they know I am incapable of committing. This certainty, as I looked on it, made me forego many other advantages. One, particularly beneficial, was proposed to me. A reputable army-agent, who, it is very well known, made near thirty thousand pounds in the business, proposed to me (he having a capital sufficient) to join with him in recruiting men for the new regiments which were going to be raised just at the breaking out of the war, and to be concerned together in a general agency-line. I could also have been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel to a regiment of cavalry then raising on the Continent, which, since that period, has been esta-

blished, and is now in full pay. These two objects did I relinquish: the first, from principles of honour; that, when employed by the Honourable the East-India Company, I could not engage to assist in recruiting for the line: as for the second, it was not worthy my attention to take an employment so inferior in point of emolument to the one I already possessed. I did not only suffer from losing an employment which brought me in annually above six hundred pounds; but I lost at least six years of exertion, expended to no permanent solid purpose hereafter; and, during such a space of time, an active mind, which, thanks to my God, I am endowed with! would, if this employment had not presented itself, have struck out some other equally as advantageous, and more to be relied on for its continuance; for, in so large a capi-

tal as London is, if a gentleman be not too proud to follow various occupations, he may very readily, and with not much trouble, find some employment which will prevent him from falling into the miseries of want; although the business he undertakes may not be of sufficient emolument to render his situation affluent.

One misfortune seldom comes alone. Indeed I am convinced of it: and, my dear reader, have you not generally found it so?—I had also, for near four years, enjoyed a salary of three hundred pounds per annum, as Equerry to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; which salary the arrangements made by Parliament, relative to his Royal Highness's affairs, deprived me of, by the reduction of his household. Both these losses I sus-

tained, and heavy ones they were; nay, they were the more distressing, because the one took place shortly after the other. Thus, reader, did I lose, suddenly and unexpectedly, an income of above nine hundred pounds per annum—all at once, as it may be said. The two above employments were surely most pleasant, and much to be envied; as the profits derived from the first sprang from an honest exertion in the service of the East-India Company; the emoluments derived from the second employment, were given me by a personage, whom it was not only an honour, but a pleasure to serve. I have reason to complain bitterly of my misfortunes at this period of my life; for I am of opinion there is no other instance of any person losing an income of nine hundred pounds a-year without having been guilty

of some misconduct or malpractices; but it was my misfortune that my pecuniary resources should be subjected to events which could not be foreseen or avoided.

Once again I had risen to a state of ease and happiness, after the various misfortunes I had suffered, when I was again most suddenly reduced to the greatest distress. I had fondly brought my mind to think that I had weathered all the storms in life, and brought my vessel into a quiet snug harbour: but how was I deceived! for the hurricane of misfortune, without giving me notice, drove me from my comfortable moorings into the troubled ocean; once more to seek the necessaries of life. I now began gradually to measure my steps towards the King's Bench; and, on the 2d of June

1798, I surrendered to that prison, where I remained until the 6th of April 1799, on which day I was discharged.

Prior to my surrendering to the King's Bench, I was engaged in a family law-suit, which was decided by arbitration before a Master of the Court of King's Bench; by this I gained a considerable sum of money, when I compounded for my debts, and was discharged. My affairs on this occasion were settled in the following manner:—My creditors were paid seven shillings and sixpence in the pound, in cash; and I signed a bond to them to pay them the remainder in future from every property I might have to receive by will, reversion, or entail. After allotting to them the various sums assigned them, there were forty odd pounds remaining, which I took for my own use; and that was all

I reserved to myself. I therefore started again to run the course of life, with forty pounds capital stock.

And now I shall beg forgiveness if I once more introduce myself into the Rules of the King's Bench, in order to mention a circumstance which I trust the reader will believe; but if he has not faith enough in my word, I can shew him written documents, as I have preserved all the bills as brought in every Monday morning by my servant when they were paid: those bills will prove, that, on the average, I never spent above three shillings any one day during my residence in those blessed regions of rural retirement. I had two reasons for living so cheap: first, being of opinion a prisoner for debt should not be squandering money; nor should he live sumptuously, yet he

should not deny himself the necessaries of life: secondly, I was determined to ascertain how cheap a gentleman could live, and want for nothing necessary to his maintenance, namely, a hearty breakfast and dinner every day. Bread and beer were cheaper at that period than at this moment; but meat was much the same. The reader must be informed that I drank nothing but porter.

Before I surrendered to the King's Bench; nay, from the very commencement of this war, I endeavoured, by every means, and by repeated applications, to be employed on active service: I even proposed to form a corps from the convicts; shewing how, after the war, they might be provided for, and not be turned adrift in the world again: And two

years before the act for that purpose took place, I suggested the permission for the militia to enlist in the regiments of the line. I also proposed to be allowed to take one thousand volunteers, at a small bounty, from the militia, and train them to the use of the rifle-gun—a science which I have made my study ever since I was sixteen years old.

Finding every channel shut up to my solicitations for employment, I then resolved to apply myself to trade, and, in May 1800, commenced coal-merchant. It has been circulated and reported, in order to injure me in my new profession, that I receive a certain sum per chaldron commission. On my honour, the report is absolutely false! I am allowed an annual salary, which, with prudence, will keep me from want, by a generous

friend, who has undertaken this business to serve me, and to set the trade a-going.

By the distinguished favours I have already been honoured with, by a further protection from the Public in favouring me with their commands to supply their families with coals, and by the orders which are weekly increasing, I shall, I trust, be able to relieve my friend from his anxious exertions, and to establish the trade myself, in a few months, on a solid and permanent commercial basis. *Sunt mihi deliciæ, sint mihi divitiæ, Carbones*, is my motto. May the black-diamond trade flourish with me! which, if it receives, as I trust it will, a generous support from the Public, cannot fail of success.

To a man whose affairs have been so

deranged for a long period of years, it is no small degree of satisfaction that his pecuniary obligations are confined to a very few persons. Mine are concentrated in three noble Earls—the largest sum two hundred pounds, the smallest one hundred. At the same time that I acknowledge my gratitude, it is doubly pleasing, on reflection, that their characters are so eminently respected by the world at large, as well as by me.

One singular mark of generous friendship I experienced from an old acquaintance, who had been for years acquainted with poverty, (that worst of crimes,) and who came suddenly, by the death of a near relation, to a command of money. He offered me two thousand pounds, requesting me not to think of paying him until I should be a rich man. I refused

it, on this principle—I knew I never should be able to repay him, and held it dishonest to borrow a sum so large that I never should be able to refund. I took one hundred pounds from him: he pressed the whole on me, almost to an injunction.

Twice have I began the world anew. I trust the present century will be more favourable to me than the past.—*Valete et plaudite!*

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